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BOSTON UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

ASSYRIA AND EGYPT AS FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS OF ISAIAH

by
Alfred Clemson Fray
(A.B.,Dickinson College 1927)

submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
1935.

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ISAIAH.

ISAIAH AND HIS TIMES: CHARACTERIZED.

"A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honor; men who will not lie;
Men who can stand before a demagogue
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking!
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty, and in private thinking."

("God give us men!)-- J.G.Holland.

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE AND SCOPE

The purpose of this thesis is to show how the Assyrian and Egyptian forces of the eighth century B.C. influenced the development of the religious concepts of Isaiah. In it's scope the thesis will necessarily involve a comparison of Archaeological and Biblical data which pertain to that period. It will include an historical survey of the interrelation between Egypt and Israel-Judah together with an historical survey of the interrelation between Assyria and Israel-Judah, especially in so far as these events and crises affected and influenced the development of the religious concepts of Isaiah. The thesis will also endeavor to show how Isaiah, as prophet and statesman, mastered the critical problems that he had to face. Beside these considerations, it will likewise include a consideration of the message of Isaiah (1-39) as it was created by these problems, in an attempt to understand how the development of the religious concepts of Isaiah was influenced by the Egyptian-Assyrian background.

PROBLEM

These are days of scientific and critical analysis. It is, therefore, vital and significant that we should utilize every possible legitimate method available for our research work in

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endeavoring to understand the way in which the religious concepts of Isaiah evolved and developed. The history of this development can better be understood in the light of the historical events of the day and period in which the development took place. Thus the problem involves archaeological and Biblical research work. Recent discoveries in Archaeology have shed much light upon the Bible narratives.[1] But the present day tendency in the world at large has raised so many doubts in the minds of such a multitude of people concerning the Biblical data that it is difficult to impress these valuable discoveries upon the minds of the populace. In this regard, the problem involved in this thesis is similar to the problem involved in many of the other Old Testament writings, namely: the verification and authentication of the literature and documents which are in existence. All new knowledge obliges us to modify or change our former opinions. This is just as true in our study of the religious concepts which were developed by Isaiah as it is in the deliberation of any other similar subject. This thesis is designed so clearly to portray the way in which the Egyptian and Assyrian forces influenced the development of the religious concepts of Isaiah that it may solve this problem, and obliterate any doubts that the subject of this thesis may evoke.

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SECTION ONE: ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

Two main archaeological sources will be consulted for the writing of this thesis. They are the Assyrian inscriptions and the Records of Egypt. These are only

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portions of archaeology; for archaeology is "that branch of knowledge which takes cognizance of past civilizations, and investigates their history in all fields, by means of the remains of art, architecture, monuments, inscriptions, literature, language, implements, customs, and all other examples which have survived."[1] A number of these will be briefly mentioned in the instances which are relevant to this thesis. Such departure from the two main sources listed above may be necessary for a more complete study of Assyrian and Egyptian events. Our more important archaeological source, as far as this particular thesis is concerned, is that of the Assyrian inscriptions. This source shall, therefore, be our first consideration.

The inscriptions of three Assyrian kings have a direct bearing on the events through which Isaiah lived.

ASSYRIAN INSCRIPTIONS

These inscriptions, written between 740 B.C. and 701 B.C., were inscribed, or caused to be inscribed, by Tiglathpileser III, Sargon II, and Sennacherib.

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Tiglathpileser III made several campaigns into the West and had a profound influence upon the people of Israel-Judah,[1] and consequently upon the young Isaiah who began his ministry about that time. The records of these campaigns are known as the Annals of Tiglathpileser. These records were badly mutilated by Esarhaddon, a later Assyrian king, but they still reveal much that is of interest to the Biblical student.[2] The following excerpt is from the fragments of that portion of the Annals which relates to the campaign of 733-732 B.C.:[3]

TIGLATHPILESER'S ANNALS

> "Forty-five people from his camp I brought together before his city, and I shut him in like a bird in a cage. His parks, his orchards, which were without number, I cut down and did not leave one. Hadara, the home of the father of Rezin of Damascus, (the place where) he was born, I besieged, I captured. 800 people, together with their possessions, ... I took as spoil. ... The city of Gaza (I captured. His goods), his possessions, his gods (I took as spoil) ... My royal image in the palace of (Hanno I set up). The country of the house of Omri ... all it's people, (and their possessions) I carried away unto Assyria. Pekah, their king, they had overthrown. Hoshea (as king) over them I placed. 10 talents of gold ... talents of silver I received as tribute from them."

This inscription is fragmentary, but it is very significant. It helps to confirm a number of passages in the book of Kings, such as: 2 Kings, 15:19, 29-30. It also shows how completely Tiglathpileser conquered the West. But, more than this, it helps us to understand the way in which these circumstances affected

SIGNIFICANCE

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1. Barton, AB, p. 463.
2. Ibid.
3. Sayce, LTI, p. 92; also Barton, AB, p. 464. Davis, RAH, pp. 21-33.

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1. Barton, AB, p. 403.
2. Ibid.
3. Sayce, ITI, p. 92; also Barton, AB, p. 404.
Davis, RAH, pp. 21-22.

and influenced Isaiah. It was during this campaign that Isaiah was, for a second time, aroused into action. This will be noted in the following discussion which is more directly related to the concepts of Isaiah.

In the inscriptions of Sargon there are accounts of the events alluded to in Isaiah 20:1. These events caused Isaiah again to assert himself.

SARGON'S INSCRIPTIONS

Two of these inscriptions are worthy of note and are here inserted. The first of these tells of the fall of Samaria as follows:[1]

> "At the beginning of my reign, in my first year ... Samaria I besieged, I captured. 27,290 people from it's midst I carried captive. 50 chariots I took there as an addition to my royal force ... I returned and made more than formerly to dwell. People from lands which my hands had captured I settled in the midst. My officers over them as governors I appointed. Tribute and taxes I imposed upon them after the Assyrian manner."

The other inscription which shall be considered is the one which refers to the same events which are alluded to in Isaiah 20:1. The circumstances reflect the fall of Ashdod (711 B.C.):[2]

> "In the 9th. (error for 11th.) year of my reign I marched to the coast of the great sea ... to (punish) Philistia, Judah, Edom, Moab, who inhabit the sea-coast, payers of tribute,and taxes to Ashur, my lord. Planning rebellion and untold evil against me, they bore their pledges to Pharaoh, king of Egypt, a prinse who could not help them, and sought his aid. I, Sargon, the faithful prince, who honors the oath of Nabu and Marduk, who guards the name of Ashur, caused my trusty troops to cross the Tigris and Euphrates

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1. Barton, AB, p. 467.
   Sayce, ILT, pp. 92-93.
2. Barton, AB, p. 468.
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"In the 5th. (error for 11th.) year of my reign I marched to the coast of the great sea ... to (punish) Philistia, Judah, Edom, Moab, who inhabit the sea-coast, payers of tribute and taxes to Ashur, my lord, planning rebellion and untold evil against me, they bore their pledges to Pharaoh, king of Egypt, a prince who could not help them, and sought his aid. I, Sargon, the faithful prince, who honors the oath of Bel and Nebu, who guards the name of Ashur, caused my trusty troops to cross the Tigris and Euphrates

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1. Barton, AB, p. 427.
Sayce, IIT, pp. 92-93.
2. Barton, AB, p. 466.
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at high water. As for him, Yamani, their king, who had trusted in his own power, and had not submitted to my lordship, he heard of the advance of my army. The fear of Ashur, my lord, cast him down, and to the borders of (Egypt)... he fled away."

These inscriptions are of the utmost interest and importance to the student in his Biblical research.

IMPORTANCE "Before the discovery of the palace of Sargon by Botta in 1845, the passage in Isaiah(20:1) was the only place in extant literature where the name of Sargon had been preserved."[1] Moreover, "In the second passage of Sargon's Inscriptions, above quoted, Sargon speaks as though he had also punished Judah on this expedition. There is no direct allusion to this in the Bible unless it be the vivid description in Isaiah 10: 28-32, where an approach of an Assyrian army to Jerusalem is described. It is difficult to date those verses unless they also refer to the expedition of 711 B.C."[2] the third great international event that stirred Isaiah to action. Besides these important citations, which give special significance to these inscriptions, the first one, mentioned above, shows that Sargon followed the method which his father, Tiglathpileser, used. The other inscription helps us to understand, in a more adequate way, why Isaiah should be aroused into action, and what some of the circumstances were that influenced his religious concepts.

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1. Barton, AB, p. 468.
2. Ibid.

The third group of Assyrian inscriptions, which are to be considered along with the above mentioned Inscriptions, are those pertaining to the campaigns of Sennacherib. These are of great value, for the early years of Sennacherib's reign were the closing years of Isaiah's ministry. It was during these years that Isaiah's most profound concepts developed so rapidly and with so little opposition, because the turn of events had shown that his beliefs were trustworthy. The accounts of Sennacherib, in many instances, run parallel to portions in 2 Kings and Isaiah. His account of his campaign against Judah is here given in part as follows:[1]

SENNACHERIB'S ACCOUNTS

> "Zedekiah, king of Ashkelon, who had not submitted to my yoke, the gods of the house of his father, himself, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brothers, the seed of the house of his father I took away and brought him to Assyria...The kings of Egypt...they summoned to their aid. In the environs of Elteke the battle array was drawn up before me...In the might of Ashur, my lord, I fought with them and accomplished their defeat...I approached Ekron. The governors and princes who had committed sin I killed and on stakes round about the city I hung their bodies...I brought Padi, their king, out of the midst of Jerusalem, (where Hezekiah had been keeping him as prisoner), and on the throne of dominion I placed, and imposed the tribute of my over-lordship upon him.
>
> As to Hezekiah, the Judean, who had not submitted to my yoke, 46 of his strongholds, fortified cities, and smaller cities of their environs without number, with the onset of battering rams and the attack of engines, mines, breaches, and axes, I besieged, I captured. 200,150 people, small and great, male and female...I brought out and counted as booty. He himself I shut up like a caged bird in Jerusalem, his capital city; I erected beleaguring

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1. Barton, AB, p.471.
   Sayce, LTI, pp.93-94.
   Davis, RAH, pp.23-24.

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1. Barton, AH, p.371.
Bevan, LIT, pp.92-94.
Davis, RAH, pp.85-86.

works against him, and turned back by command every one who came out of his city gate ... As to Hezekiah himself, the fear of the luster of my lordship overcame him and the Urbi and his favorite soldiers, whom he had brought in to strengthen Jerusalem, his capital city, deserted. With thirty talents of gold, 800 talents of silver ... all sorts of objects, a heavy treasure; also his daughters, the women of his palace, male and female musicians he sent after me to Nineveh, my capital city, and sent his messenger to present the gift and to do homage."

PARALLELISM IN II KINGS

Some of the above material is in a general way parallel to 2 Kings 18,19 and Isaiah 36,37. This parallelism shall be viewed and explained in connection with the Biblical sources. The inscription, however, affirms the Biblical account.[1] Likewise, as stated above, these circumstances in Sennacherib's campaigns in Judah had a significant bearing on the development of the religious concepts of Isaiah. This significance will be expressed in another section of this thesis.

REASON FOR SELECTION

The fore-going Assyrian inscriptions have been singled out of the scores of those which are available. The reason for this selection is obvious: it is because they deal with and reveal the international affairs of the years 745-701 B.C. It was at this time that Isaiah, as prophet and statesman, was active in these affairs. These inscriptions have been used by renowned Historians, and have been proven by them to be reliable and trustworty.

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RECORDS OF EGYPT

The Records of Egypt "which have by chance been preserved to us are, as a whole, so vague and indefinite in their references to peoples, localities, persons, and the character of events, that they are often tantalizing in what they do not tell us."[1] Between the years 1150-663 B.C. a large number of records were produced, and monuments erected, in the Delta. But only fragments of these remain, due to destruction by the climatic conditions, and by the many invasions from abroad. During the Ethiopian period, fortunately, the fragmentary monuments were supplemented by the historical stelae erected by the Ethiopians at Napata.[2] "Among these, the narrative of his conquest of Egypt by Piankhi is one of the most remarkable documents of Ancient Egypt."[3] It is with this Piankhi Stela that this portion of the thesis is concerned. The reason for the selection of this particular stela is very obvious. It is the "most instructive surviving document in respect of the internal political condition of Egypt in a time when no strong central power and no aggressive monarch controlled the whole country."[4] It depicts the condition which prevailed in Egypt during the time that Isaiah of Jerusalem was in the midst of his active ministry. It shows that the whole land of Egypt was divided against itself, with little petty kinglets in every town and city.

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1. Breasted, ARE, vol.1, p. 4. 2. Ibid, p. 14.
3. Ibid, p. 15. 4. Breasted, ARE, vol.4,p. 406.

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PIANKHI STELA

The translation of the Piankhi Stela is so long and involved that only a brief survey of it may be given here. The entire document may be found in Breasted's Ancient Records of Egypt.[1] According to the document, there was much fear among the many princes of Egypt because Tefnakhte, a local dynast of Sais, had started forth to make himself the Pharaoh of all Egypt. Piankhi was in the Southland. Messengers were sent to him to appeal for his assistance. After some delay Piankhi sent his army to check Tefnakhte, and to besiege Hermopolis. Then, after he had visited Thebes, Piankhi himself, who had just celebrated the feast of Opet at Thebes, went to Hermopolis and captured it. Other cities along the way also surrendered to Piankhi. But when he came to Memphis, that city resisted him and made a sortie. Tefnakhte had entered the city while Piankhi was making his plans to take it. But Tefnakhte had to go for reinforcements; and while he was gone, the crafty and skilled Piankhi assaulted the city. "The lofty walls on the west side of the city had recently been raised still higher, and it was evident that the east side, protected by high waters, was being neglected."[2] Piankhi sent his fleet against the harbour, captured it, and ranged the ships along the wall so that his army might enter the city. The entire region then submitted to him; so also did Tefnakhte after he had sought refuge in the delta.[3]

1. Breasted, ARE, vol. 4, pp. 418-444.
2. Ibid, p. 411.
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2. Ibid, p. 412.
3. Ibid, pp. 412-414.

It is to be noted that Piankhi did not establish himself on the throne of all Egypt. He went back to the Southland[1]; and the North was divided as much as before, until a later kingdom partly combined divided Egypt. There had been a long period of Egyptian civilization in the past, but it continued to be only a memory that caused Egypt to be a "Bruising reed" to the nations near her, and especially to Israel-Judah, as later pages shall show. The Piankhi stela helps us to see that anyone, who was as wide awake to the international affairs as Isaiah was, was in a position to direct the affairs of the state. Circumstances such as these, which are depicted in the Piankhi stela, show that the religious convictions of Isaiah were divinely inspired on the ground of a knowledge of human events and human nature, as well as on a reasonable faith. The above mentioned document is also important because it helps us understand what some of the circumstances were that affected the development of some of the religious concepts of Isaiah.

SIGNIFICANCE

It is to be noted that the larger number of Egyptian records, which bear directly on the international relations between Egypt and Israel-Judah, are concerned with a much earlier period than the period with which this thesis is concerned.

RECORDS ABOUT ISRAEL-JUDAH

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SECTION TWO: BIBLICAL SOURCES

The Biblical sources which shall be utilized in this study are: 2 Kings, especially chapters 15-20;

INTRODUCTION

2 Chronicles, with special emphasis on chapters 26-32; and Isaiah, chapters 1-39, omitting a few portions which, after careful research, the writer has found to be unauthentic. The book of Isaiah is the main Biblical source of our study; but some consideration must also be given to the other sources named above.

The book of 2 Kings records the history of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah from the reign of Ahaziah

II KINGS,1:2ff.

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1. ABC, p. 413. (Simpson).
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid, p. 415.
Cp. also Oesterly and Robinson, IBOT, pp. 96-102.
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THE EVALUATION OF KINGS

The book of Kings is one of the four books which, as a group, bore the title:"The Earlier Prophets."[1] These books were edited by writers who were influenced by the book of Deuteronomy. This influence we call the Deuteronomic redaction, as distinguished from the Priestly Code of the Chronicles: a much later publication. The book of Kings has proven to be "the most complete specimen of Hebrew historical writings which the Old Testament contains."[2] We shall, therefore , consider the conception of history to which the book owed it's origin, and the literary method which determined it's form. There are three distinct types of historical literature. There are narrative, or descriptive, histories where the writer simply desires to convey to the reader the actual facts that take place. Then there is the didactic, or pragmatic, history which uses the historical event to teach some particular lesson. The third type is the scientific, or genetic, which directs attention to the great social implications involved in the historical data. In our study of the book of Kings, it is necessary that we should determine the class to which the book of Kings belongs. At first, when separate passages are singled out, it appears to be a narrative, or descriptive, type. But when the book is considered as a unity we find that the aim of the book is to make history a vehicle of moral

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1. Skinner, J., K, p.2. 2. Ibid.
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and religious teaching. The narrative comments are given, and to these comments a moral and religious application is constructed. As to the literary aspects of the book, sources were dealt with freely. The compiler simply selected from the historical documents that were available the material he deemed worthy of preserving. Only in rare instances are the sources cited. It is due to this composite structure of the book of Kings that there is a noticeable entanglement of the narrative and didactic types of historical data in the book. Moreover, since the didactic type predominates, we can not expect to find a smooth sequence in the events as they are written; nor must we overlook the fact that early compositions were at different intervals incorporated into the narrative without regard to the fact that they broke into the natural sequence of the historical events and thereby caused confusion in the mind of the historical critic. Nevertheless we find in the book of Kings, as in many other portions and books of the Old Testament, that a direct word of God is unveiled for the people; and there we find a "record of a (an) historic revelation, given to men in the past, of the Divine character and purpose."[1] In the study of this book we find that God was endeavoring to reveal Himself to a people who, in the midst of the baffling elements about them, should understand Him more ethically, and bear that revelation of God to all mankind.[2]

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A distinctive type of framework in the book of Kings points to the supposition that it was compiled by a single person. Introductory formulas and concluding formulas are characteristic features. The formula for Judaean kings includes: "(a) the date of accession of the king to the throne, with the corresponding year of the contemporary king of Israel; (b) the king's age at his accession; (c) the duration of the reign; (d) the name of the queen-mother; and (e) a judgment on the religious character of the reign."[1] For Israel (b) and (d) are omitted. "The concluding formulas contain: (a) a reference to the proximate source from which the author has drawn some of his materials; (b) a notice of the king's death and burial; and (c) the name of his successor."[2] For the most part this framework is given to the historical events from the death of David to the accession of the last king of Judah, Zedekiah.

THE FRAMEWORK OF KINGS

The judgments on the religious character of the reign of each king are particularly characteristic of the compiler of the book of Kings. It is evident that the compiler set forth the standards of the whole-hearted loyalty to Yahweh, and the sanctity of the Temple, and that he tried to show that judgment would come upon those who fell short of these standards. The constant complaint appears in practically every case:"Howbeit the high-places were not

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1. Skinner, J., op. cit. 2. Idem.

taken away."[1] In the northern kingdom the abomination was "The sin of Jeroboam",[2] or calf worship, against which the compiler directs his finger of scorn because it deliberately defied the central sanctuary at Jerusalem.[3] According to these elements the compiler gathered together the historical data and, in the compilation of the material, he showed that he was expressly influenced by the Deuteronomic Law and the spirit of its teaching. This argues for such a position and thus urges us to inquire into the standpoint from which the author wrote this book.

THE STANDARD IN KINGS

We have seen that the frame-work of the book of Kings is Deuteronomic in the nature of its construction. But it is also Deuteronomic in its characteristic phrases, stereotyped expressions, figures of speech, and the like.[4] The didactic history revealed in this book also shows that the author was intensly influenced by the Deuteronomic ideal. For example, he was not interested in the political affairs; but he was greatly interested in the events that portrayed the ecclesiastical side of the life of the Israelites and Jews. He describes at some length the building and repair of the temple, and the finding of the book of the Law. He is, moreover, one who stresses the doctrine of retribution. One famous example of this is found in the story of Solomon: David gave Solomon the charge that

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1. 2 Kings 12:3.
2. 1 Kings 15:30.
3. 1 Kings 12:25-33.
4. See list at the close of this discussion. p.12f.

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THE STANDARD IN KINGS

But it is also Deuteronomic in its characteristic phrases, stereotyped expressions, figures of speech, and the like.[4] The didactic history revealed in this book also shows that the author was intensely influenced by the Deuteronomic ideal. For example, he was not interested in the political affairs; but he was greatly interested in the events that portrayed the ecclesiastical side of the life of the Israelites and Jews. He describes at some length the building and repair of the temple, and the finding of the book of the Law. He is, moreover, one who stresses the doctrine of retribution. One famous example of this is found in the story of Solomon: David gave Solomon the charge that

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1. 2 Kings 12:3.
2. 1 Kings 13:30.
3. 1 Kings 12:25-33.
4. See list at the close of this discussion. p.12f.

he was to walk in the ways of the Lord;[1] God also charged Solomon in like manner;[2] the early years of Solomon were glorious because he loved Yahweh;[3] then foreign cults steal the heart of Solomon away from Yahweh;[4] the northern tribes secede because Solomon had apostasized: this is judgment;[5] calf worship, the ruination of the northern kingdom, is a result of Solomon's wickedness;[6] the sin of Manasseh, which made the Exile an inevitable future event, followed from the example of former idolatry, intensified;[7] while the Deuteronomic Reformation of Josiah availed to delay the catastrophe.[8] The law of retribution is very pronounced in these instances. There were, however, other Deuteronomic ideas revealed by the author of the book of Kings. They include:"(a)the exclusive right of Yahweh...to the whole-hearted allegiance and worship of His people; (b)the necessity of maintaining that worship in its purity; ...(c)and the restriction of sacrificial worship to the central sanctuary at Jerusalem."[9]

HISTORICITY OF KINGS

The book of Kings has been accepted as reliable in its main historical elements. There are, of course, places in the accounts concerning the kings where the material has been slightly adjusted to point out the moral more effectively; but there are many instances where the facts are faithfully recorded."His proceedure seems to be that of an honest, fairminded, and reliable historian."[10]

1. 1 Kings 2:2-4.
2. 1 Kings 9:1-9.
3. 1 Kings 3:3.
4. 1 Kings 11.
5. 1 Kings 11:29-40.
6. 2 Kings 17:21-23.
7. 2 Kings 21:10-16;23:26.
8. 2 Kings 22:19-20.
9. Skinner, J., K, p. 16.
10. Skinner, J., K, p. 18.

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6. 2 Kings 17:21-23.
7. 2 Kings 21:10-16;23:26.
8. 2 Kings 22:19-20.
9. Skinner, J., K, p. 16.
10. Skinner, J., K, p. 18.

PHRASES CHARACTERISTIC OF THE COMPILER OF KINGS.[1]

No.	Phrase	Kings	Deuteronomy
1.	"To keep the charge of Jehovah;"	I,2:3.	11:1.
2.	"To walk in the ways of Jehovah"	I,2:3.	8:6.
3.	"Testimonies"	I,2:3.	4:45.
4.	"That thou mayest prosper"	I,2:3.	29:9.
5.	"To establish his word"	I,2:4.	9:5.
6.	"With all the heart"	I,2:4.	6:5.
7.	"As it is this day"	I,3:6.	2:30.
8.	"Given me rest on every side"	I,5:4.	12:10.
9.	"To provoke Jehovah to anger"	I,14:9.	9:18.
10.	"The fettered and the free"	I,14:10.	32:36.
11.	"Would not destroy"	II,8:19.	10:10.
12.	"To blot out the name"	II,14:27.	9:14.
13.	"The host of heaven"	II,17:16.	4:19.
14.	"To cleave to Jehovah"	II,18:6.	10:20.
15.	"In thy gates"	I,8:37.	12:12.
16.	"That thy name might be there"	I ,8:16.	12:11.
17.	"To observe and do"	II,17:37.	5:1.
18.	"To keep his statutes and com."	I,2;3.	4:20.
19.	"Detestable things"	I,11:5.	29:17.
20.	"To do that which is evil"	I,11:6.	4:25.
21.	"To do that which is right"	I,11:33.	12:25.
22.	"Under every spreading tree"	I,14:23.	12:2.
23.	"Abominations of the nations"	I,14:24.	18:9.
24.	"Whom Jehovah dispossessed"	I,14:24.	9:4.

1. Driver, ILOT, pp. 99-102; 200-203.

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6.	"With all the heart;	I.2:4.	6:5.
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8.	"Given me rest on every side;	I.5:4.	12:10.
9.	"To provoke Jehovah to anger;	I.14:9.	9:18.
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21.	"To do that which is right;	I.11:33.	12:28.
22.	"Under every spreading tree;	I.14:23.	12:2.
23.	"Abominations of the nations;	I.14:24.	18:9.
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1. Haver, 1901, pp. 98-103; 400-403.

In order that we may better understand the views and differences which exist between our Biblical sources,

COMPARISON OF KINGS AND CHRONICLES

Kings and Chronicles, a comparison shall here be given relative to the point of view from which each of these compilations was written. The book of Kings[1], which gives a history of Israel from the time of David's death (about 1000 B.C.) to the death of Jehoiachin (about 562 B.C.), endeavors to show that the fall of the two kingdoms, Israel and Judah, was due to their refusal to follow and observe the true worship of Yahweh at the central sanctuary; the sin of Israel, therefore, brought both nations to their ruin. The tone through-out is Deuteronomic in all it's aspects.[2] We may accept these books as historically trustworthy. But when the books of Chronicles are considered, we find a different object exemplified. "The writer, or compiler, does not write as a (an) historian, but with the object of interpreting history in the light of later developments."[3] In other words, he did not follow the historical events to give another book of history; he re-interpreted past events in the light of the teaching of the Law, and he sought to reconstruct historical events in harmony with it. He disregarded secular events, or only made a hasty record of them. He carried out his purpose by using the midrashic elements: to turn former history into edifying religious stories. In this way he sought to

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THE TASK OF THE CHRONICLER

"The Chronicler's great task was to establish the supreme authority of the Jerusalem cultus in all its details."[2] This authority had been sharply challenged by those who did not live or worship in Jerusalem after the exilic period. Before the Exile, when a man from David's line occupied the throne, there could be no question about the center of Israelite religion; but after the nation had been overthrown, and while new Jewish temples were gaining in influence, there was much dispute about the center of Israelite worship. The Jews of the Second Temple had to prove that they were successors and heirs of David and Solomon, and that their local traditions of the Temple administration and worship were really from Moses and Aaron.[3] It was evident that Jerusalem had been depopulated

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2. Torrey, ES, p. 208.
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1. Cheyne, in Peake's Commentary, p. 416.
2. Torrey, Id., p. 508.
3. Ibid.

by Nebuchadrezzar, and for fifty-nine years the land had been practically deserted. During those years a new Israelitish seat of worship had been established at Shechem. Whole priestly families had doubtless migrated to the northern territory when Jerusalem was destroyed. These, then, were sons of Aaron, and with them were Levites. Could any in Jerusalem show a clearer title? The Chronicler, therefore, wrote his history, in which he gave a genealogy of the families who, in his day, were considered by him as constituting the Jewish Church in Jerusalem, thereby excluding all in the northern territory from that legitimacy. The Jews also needed to show how great a nation their's had been in the world forces. The Chronicler believed that the glory of Jerusalem and of David's line had not been greatly appreciated. He, therefore, attempted to show that through his great hero, David, the Jewish power had had a wide and noble influence.[1]

THE CHRONICLER'S METHOD

In order that he might more clearly show that Jerusalem was the central shrine of Israelite worship, and that there the true Mosaic Law was expressed and followed, the Chronicler proceeded to show that the people in Jerusalem were the successors and heirs of David and Solomon. Moreover, he declared that David had set the example when he made Jerusalem the central shrine. With David as his national

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"The Chronicler believed that this ritual in which he himself had an active part was the true Mosaic worship."[3] He also believed that the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and those who worshiped there, were the true worshipers. He was likewise concerned with the Levitical office, for he magnified this office and the ecclesiastical order in Jerusalem. He showed in an extended portion the great part which the Levites "must have had in the history of the true Israel. But what he planned, as has already been written, was not merely a history of the Levites; it was a history which was designed

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1. Torrey, WS, p. 216.
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to set the whole Jerusalem church on its feet, once for all."[1] To carry out this purpose, he took all the ritual practices, which were prevalent in the worship at the Temple in Jerusalem, and carried them back to the early origins of Hebrew history. He used the historical data,as it then existed, and retained those portions which very definitely served his purpose. In this way the Chronicler declared that even David and Solomon ascribed to the worship which was in vogue at Jerusalem in his own day. It therefore followed, according to the Chronicler, that only those who ascribed to the worship in Jerusalem, were following the true leadership. To make his point even more evident, the Chronicler set forth a genealogy in which he attempted to show how the people in Jerusalem were the legitimate successors of David and Moses. "When he had finished his work, he had shown that none of the pure stock of Israel, none of the true representatives of the cultus, could be looked for outside the territory of Judah and Benjamin...The pure blood and the true worship were transmitted only by way of Babylonia."[2] The Samaritan Church had become a heterogeneous mob of heathen, as the Chronicler would say. The pure blood, and the true worship, could only be found in and around Jerusalem.[3]

The Chronicler"was not a mere dealer in Midrashim", says C.C.Torrey,"but the champion of a great cause."[4] His

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work, according to our standards, was an unlawful manufacturing of history. But from his point of view, and in the light of his purpose, it was a worthy one, and by no means illegitimate. However, he made a new edition,* abridged the former history in some places,** and freely expanded it in other portions.*** He intended, thereby, to supplement the historical books already written. He was

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fond of mentioning how homage was paid to Jerusalem and the house of David by the foreign kings and nations. Building operations also occupied his attention. Moreover, in many of these vivid passages, it is seen that the chief source, of which the Chronicler availed himself, was his own imagination. He was very adept at using local coloring to enliven the historical narrative.[1] "He used what he needed and manufactured what he pleased, always with his eye fixed either on the actual circumstances and regulations of the time in which he lived, or else on certain ideal conditions suggested by those existing in his own day."[2] One half of the material in Chronicles is historical; the other half is added material; but it is in itself important because the whole work was planned for the sake of this independent portion.[3] The new material was all composed by the Chronicler himself in pursuit of his apologetic aim. The language and style is that of the Chronicler, and the aim is that of the Chronicler.[4]

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1. Torrey, ES, p. 217. 2. Ibid, p. 222.
3. Ibid, p. 227. 4. Ibid, pp. 230-231.

* Cp. II Kgs. 12:5-17 with II Chron. 24:4-14.
Cp. II Sam. 24:1-25 " I " 21:1-30.
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"The sources from which the Chronicler compiled his work were: The book of Kings; the Midrash , or commentary on Kings; the Midrash on the prophet Iddo; and the book of Isaiah."[1] It presents the history of Judah by using excerpts from the books of Kings and adding a supplement contributed by the compiler himself.[2] Some of the historical facts are here given a fanciful coloring.[3] However this does not destroy the historicity of the book. In many cases, the additions that have been made to the records found in the book of Kings show that the compiler had at his command some of the same sources which the compiler of the book of Kings had, and that he also recorded some oral traditions that had not been written before that time.[4] From internal evidence, moreover, we may place the date of this work at about 350 B.C.

2 CHRONICLES

It is to be noted in the last two paragraphs that the books of Kings and Chronicles are partly dependent on sources that deal either directly with Isaiah, or material that came from the pen of Isaiah. Especially is this the case in the book of Chronicles. This is interesting indeed, for it shows that the work of Isaiah was historically important. The work of Isaiah, therefore, concerns us.

RELATION OF KINGS AND CHRONICLES TO ISAIAH

1. Oesterley and Robinson, IBOT, p. 115.
2. Driver, ILOT, p. 517.
3. ABC, p. 439.
4. Ibid.
5. Oesterley and Robinson, IBOT, p. 512.

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In order that we may have a clearer insight into the study of our problem, and concerning the religious

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concepts of Isaiah, the historical and the literary aspects of the book of Isaiah must here be outlined. Under the historical data we shall discuss (1) the date of authorship; (2) the probable order of the publication of the different portions of the book; and (3) the growth of the book. In regard to the literary aspects, we shall give special attention to the following phases: (1) "The greatest classic of Israel"; (2) a general outline of the book of Isaiah; (3) controverted and doubtful passages; and (4) genuine portions.

The prophecies of Isaiah in chapters 1-39 are grouped around four major crises.[1] Between the years 740-

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735 B.C., previous to the Syro-Ephraimitish war, the one group of prophecies was made. The second period of prophecy was during and immediately after the Syro-Ephraimitish war in 734 B.C. The third group may be placed in the period of Assyrian suzerainty following the fall of Damascus in 732 B.C. The fourth and last period of Isaiah's prophecy took place during the rebellion under Sennacherib, especially between the years 705-701 B.C. For the purpose of clarity and simplicity we shall call these the A, B, C, and D publications. The A, B, and C groups circulated as separate

1. These dates are largely in accordance with the "Prophets" lecture notes, Dr. Elmer A. Leslie, Instructor. B. U. S. T. 1934-1935 lectures.

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The prophecies of Isaiah in chapters 1-39 are grouped around four major crises.[1] Between the years 740-735 B.C., previous to the Syro-Ephraim-itish war, the one group of prophecies was made. The second period of prophecy was during and immediately after the Syro-Ephraimitish war in 734 B.C. The third group may be placed in the period of Assyrian supremacy following the fall of Damascus in 732 B.C. The fourth and last period of Isaiah's prophecy took place during the rebellion under Sennacherib, especially between the years 705-701 B.C. For the purpose of clearity and simplicity we shall call these the A, B, C, and D publications. The A, B, and C groups circulated as separate

1. These dates are largely in accordance with the "Prophets" lecture notes, Dr. Elmer A. Leslie, Instructor, B. U. S. T. 1934-1935 lectures.

books.[1] The D publication was added to these from the original place in 2 Kings. The following historical data shall, therefore, be our next consideration: the date of authorship; the probable order of publication; and the growth of the book.

DATE OF BOOK

It is generally agreed among Biblical critics that the book of Isaiah, as we now have it, is a Post-Exilic compilation.[2] It was built around a number of autobiographical prophetic utterances made by Isaiah between the years 740-701 B.C.[3] These utterances, as we have noted on the preceding page of this thesis, were grouped around four major crises:[4] decisive events which occurred during the forty or more years of Isaiah's ministry. The book of Isaiah in its present form suffered serious corruption between 700 B.C. and 100 A.D. Since that time, the second century B.C., it has been carefully preserved.[5]

The work attributed to Isaiah, under chapters 1-39, as it appears in that portion of the Bible, has by different scholars been divided into four, six and seven sections. For example Skinner[6] divides the 39 chapters into four parts, the arrangement which the writer prefers. These he calls the A,B,C,and D publications. They are: (A) chapters 1-12; (B) chapters 13-27; (C) chapters 28-35; and (D) chapters 36-39. He claims that the A,B, and C

1. Skinner, I, pp. lxvii-lxxv. 2. Gray, ICC, pp. xxxi-xxxii.
3. Driver, ILOT, p. 206; Skinner, I, p. lxxix.
4. Thesis, p. 14; Leslie, "Prophets",notes; Driver, ILOT, p. 206.
5. Gray, ICC, p. xxvi. 6. Skinner, I, pp. lxvii-lxxv.

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publications circulated as separate books, and that the D portion was an extract of 2 Kings.[1] Driver[2] divides the same chapters into six divisions, but he rejects three of these divisions as unauthentic to Isaiah; Eiselen[3] makes practically the same division as Driver; Sellin[4] makes only five divisions; while Gray[5] gives seven divisions, and accepts only three of them as Isaianic. These divisions shall be elaborated more fully under our study of the authenticity of these passages. In reference to the order of publication, I am inclined to agree with Skinner. Several portions in this arrangement are not considered as Isaianic, yet it is to be recognized that many publications have had editorial additions circulated as a part of the original work. This shall be discussed in connection with the literary aspects of the book of Isaiah.

PROBABLE ORDER OF PUBLICATION

Much that has been written in the last two paragraphs helps us to understand something about the growth of the book. About 26 or 27 of the 39 chapters, with which we are concerned, have been, more or less, directly based upon Isaiah's own autobiographical sketches and prophecies.[6] This first group, which was first circulated, consisted of chapters 2-12 with chapter 1 prefixed to those chapters by the editor who lived during the Post-Exilic period.[7]

GROWTH OF THE BOOK

1. Skinner, I, p.lxvii-lxxv.
2. Driver, p. 206. (ILOT)
3. Eiselen, PBOT, p. 115.
4. Sellin, IOT, pp. 135-140.
5. Gray, ICC, p.l-liii.
6. Gray, ICC, p. 1 (Int.)
7. Ibid.

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2. Driver, p. 206. (1904)
3. Eiselen, IBOT, p. 115.
4. Sellin, IOT, pp. 138-140.
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The publications B and C were circulated later than A, and D was added to all of these by the compiler. As to the attachment of chapters 40-66, it is believed that this was accidental,[1] for at the beginning of the third century B.C. these chapters had not yet been attributed to Isaiah.

In connection with the literary aspects of the book of Isaiah we shall consider:the three criteria for determining the authentic portions of the book; the classical nature of the book; a summary of the book; and what the genuine and non-genuine portions are.

LITERARY ASPECTS

The three criteria[2] for determining the authentic portions of the book are: (1)The political and social acts of the age; (2) the style and language; and (3) the ideas that are involved and presented. Of these the third is the least certain, because the same author may present ideas from any preceding period, as well as the period in which he lives, together with some other ideas which he himself cherishes.

CRITERIA

The book of Isaiah has been called "The greatest classic in Israel."[3] Driver says of Isaiah:"No prophet has Isaiah's power,either of conception, or expression; none has the same command of noble thoughts,or can present them in the same noble and attractive language."[4] He,further,says of Isaiah:

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1. Oesterly and Robinson, IBOT, p;238.
2. Gray, ICC, p. lviii.
3. Cornill, PI, p. 68.
4. Driver, ILOT, p. 229.

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AUTHORSHIP

In the book of Isaiah,the son of Amoz,(Ch. 1-39), we have internal evidence which reveals the nature, character, and station of the author. A number of chapters contain the autograph,"Isaiah,the son of Amoz".[3](This Amoz is not to be confused with the prophet Amos.)For the most part,also,there is the predominant emphasis of the first person,which characterizes these portions as autobiographical, or as dependent,to some extent, on autobiographical messages written by the original author,Isaiah,the son of Amoz. This is to be taken into account in our determination of the genuine portions.

OUTLINE OF THE BOOK OF ISAIAH

There,evidently,appear to be four main divisions which were directly uttered by Isaiah in connection with the four major crises mentioned above.[4] Chapters 1-12 contain Isaiah's social message; chapters 14;24-23rd chapter,(excluding 21:1-10), contain the prophet's message concerning foreign nations;

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1. Driver, ILOT, p. 228. 2. ABC, p. 628. Rogers.
3. Isaiah 1:1; 2:1. (Also Isa. 13:1 which is unauthentic.)
4. This thesis pp.3-9.

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chapters 28-33 express a condemnation toward Israel and Judah on account of their dependence on Egypt instead of Jehovah, and they show that Isaiah opposes the Assyrian and Egyptian parties in Judah; chapters 36-39 parallel the account in 2 Kings 18:13-20:19 from which the passage was taken.[1] The rest of the book may be explained in this way. Near the close of the Exilic period, but before Deutero-Isaiah, an unknown author wrote chapters 13:1-14:23, a prophecy against Babylon. The same author is supposed to have written chapter 21:1-10 which describes the approaching fall of Babylon. To this unknown author has also been ascribed chapters 34-35 which contrast the fate of Edom and Judah. These sections were written about 536 B.C.[2] One whom we have learned to designate Deutero-Isaiah is the great unknown author of the Exilic period. To him we ascribe chapters 40-55. This has long been the opinion of the leading critics of the Bible. There is evidence of a third major author whom we name Trito-Isaiah. To him the remaining chapters,[3] 55-66, have been attributed. These chapters were, doubtless, written between 460 and 450 B.C. They may, or may not, form a unity, for they were written at different intervals.[4] This leaves chapters 24-27 which are called "The Little Apocalypse." These reflect the thought of the period near 330 B.C. which was the period of Greek domination.[5]

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3. Ibid. 4. Ibid.
5. Ibid. (Cp. Eiselen, PBOT, pp.247-250)

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3. Ibid. 4. Ibid.
5. Ibid. (Cp. Eiselen, P&T, pp.247-260

With the critical data of the preceding paragraph firmly in mind, we shall proceed to give a

SUBJECT MATTER

synopsis of the contents of the first thirty-nine chapters. Chapters 1-12 contain: five prophetic discourses directed to the Jews and Ephraimites; the account of the rebellion of Judah; and a Messianic prediction. Chapters 13-24 include; prophetic discourses declaring the fate of many nations; the account of the Vision of Isaiah; Judgments on Judah; the prediction of afflictions that shall come upon the idolaters; and the predictions concerning the fall of Assyria, Israel's triumph over Babylon, the judgment of Moab, and the overthrow of Tyre. Chapters 25-39 contain: Discourses denouncing the disobedient Jews, and consoling the true followers of God; a message about God's care of His vineyard; Messianic hopes and blessings; and the historical account concerning the deliverance from the invasion of Sennacherib, and the record of Hezekiah's prayer and song of thanksgiving.

NON-GENUINE PASSAGES

The certainly non-genuine passages, which we cannot attribute to Isaiah "the son of Amoz", are: chapters 13:1-14:23; 21:1-10; 24-27; 34-35; and 36-39,(besides 40-66). Such outstanding authorities as Sellin[1], Leslie[2], Davidson[3], Driver[4], and Gray[5] are unanimous in regard to this criticism. In most of these passages the ideas of Skinner[6] and Eiselen[7] also agree.

1. Sellin, IOT, pp. 135-140.
2. Leslie, "Prophets."
3. Davidson, OTP, p. 245.
4. Driver, ILOT, pp. 206-226.
5. Gray, ICC, p.l-liii.
6. Skinner, I, p. lxxix.
7. Eiselen, PBOT, p. 115.

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There are a number of reasons for doubting the authenticity of the above passages. Certain prophecies, evidently, were ascribed to Isaiah. Among these prophecies there have been found certain portions that are not in accord with the criteria mentioned on page 23 of this thesis.[1] It is also to be noted that the internal evidence of these portions, which we claim are unauthentic, shows that in them the aim was to "soften the threatenings of Isaiah by adding promises, or to enrich his pictures of the approaching ideal future with traits more closely expressive of the hopes and aspirations of the post-exilic age."[2] One striking example of adjustment and explanation is easily recognized in the historical addition: chapters 36-39. The original place for these chapters was the book of Kings.[3] They "were excerpted from their original source by the compiler of the book of Isaiah on account of the particulars contained in them respecting Isaiah's prophetical work, and the fulfillment of some of his most remarkable prophecies."[4] The other reasons are better understood as we take each of these doubtful passages and study them carefully. T.K. Cheyne seems to be the authority for many of the later Bible critics on this subject. We shall, therefore, give his estimate of these non-genuine passages.

REASONS FOR DOUBTING AUTHENTICITY

1. This Thesis, p. 23.
2. Driver, LOT, p. 230.
3. II Kings, 18:13-20:19.
4. Driver, LOT, p. 226.

CHEYNE AND DRIVER ON ISAIAH'S WORK

Cheyne and Driver have been considered as authorities in the Old Testament field of higher criticism. Their estimates concerning the non-authenticated passages are worthy of note. The first main passage which we can not ascribe to Isaiah is Chapters 13:1-14:23. "In this prophecy the Jews are represented as in exile, held in thralldom by the Babylonians, but shortly to be released in consequence of the capture of Babylon by the Medes."[1] This is not the situation of Isaiah's age. Moreover, it is highly improbable that Isaiah could have so thoroughly predicted all these events so minutely 150 years before they took place. This prophecy, we understand, speaks of the return from Babylon, whereas Isaiah had looked upon Assyria as the "rod of Yahweh's anger."[2] The statement that mentions the king of Babylon in 14:4 can not be the equivalent of "king of Assyria."[3] It is, therefore, very evident that late ideas, beliefs, and anticipations appear in these chapters, for we note references to: the day of Yahweh, foreign proselitism, the idea of Sheol, the description of the morning star as the son of dawn, the divine mountain in the north, the name Shaddai, and the belief in demons of the desert. These ideas were prevalent at a much later time than that of Isaiah. They prevailed during the time of the exile. The prophecy and ode, which are the sum and substance of the above mentioned passage,

1. Driver, ILOT, p. 211.
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3. Cheyne, IBI, p. 89.
4. Ibid, p. 95.

can not, therefore, be from a time earlier than the close of the exile.[1] This supposition is further attested by the fact that, in this passage, the Jews are not warned against making an alliance with Babylon as Isaiah was accustomed to do relative to other nations; nor are they threatened with impending exile; they are represented as in exile, or about to be delivered from it. A prophet was wont to address his message to the need of his own age, "to announce to his contemporaries the judgments, or consolations, which arose out of the circumstances of their own time, and to interpret for them their own history. To base a promise upon a condition of things not yet existent ... is contrary to the genius of prophecy."[2] This passage must, therefore, be attributed to an author who lived toward the close of the exile, and not to Isaiah. In chapter 21:1-10, it is evident that there is reference to the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus. "The writer represents the rousing of the Medes as future, but his quiet tone proves that they have already been heard of as on the march."[3] The message is a very indirect one, with a two-fold consciousness, in a style that can not be found in the accepted Isaianic writings. The message, and the manner of it's presentation, together with the setting and circumstances portrayed, definitely show that this passage, like chapter 13:1-14:23, comes from the hand of an author who

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1. Cheyne, IBI, p. 75.
2. Driver, ILOT, p. 212.
3. Cheyne, IBI, p. 128.

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1. Cheyne, IBI, p. 145.
2. Driver, ILOT, p. 219.
3. Cheyne, IBI, pp. 150-151.
4. Cheyne, IBI, p. 153.

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3. Cheyne, IBI, pp. 150-151. 4. Cheyne, IBI, p. 153.

Isaiah is chapters 34-35. Driver assigns them to the closing years of the exile.[1] Cheyne, on the other hand refers these chapters to the post-exilic period.[2] The argument of Cheyne seems quite convincing. In it he claims that: the writer of these chapters borrowed his ideas from the post-exilic period and from the very late exilic writings; he lived in Palestine where he saw the incompleteness of the restoration; and the enemy whom he fears is not the Persian, but the Idumaean who invaded the south of Palestine after the exiles had returned.[3] The last non-authenticated portion of Isaiah, as listed in this thesis, is the historical section: chapters 36-39. As has been stated above,[4] this historical section, differing(except by addition of the song of Hezekiah, 38; 9-20) only verbally from 2 Kings 18:13, 18:17-20:19, and narrating certain important events in which Isaiah was concerned, originally belonged, not in the book of Isaiah, but in the book of Kings from which it was excerpted by the compiler of the book of Isaiah. It is, however, evident that these chapters were appended to the book of Isaiah because they referred to Isaiah's prophetical work, and apparently showed that some of the most remarkable prophecies of Isaiah had been fulfilled. The above reasons for the non-authenticity of the above mentioned passages are accepted for the writing of this thesis.

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1. Driver, ILOT, p. 226.
2. Cheyne, IBI, p. 209.
3. Cheyne, IBI, pp. 210-211.
4. This Thesis, p. 25.

Isaiah is chapters 34-35. Driver assigns them to the closing years of the exile.[1] Cheyne, on the other hand refers these chapters to the post-exilic period.[2] The argument of Cheyne seems quite convincing. In it he claims that: the writer of these chapters borrowed his ideas from the post-exilic period and from the very late exilic writings; he lived in Palestine where he saw the incompleteness of the restoration; and the enemy whom he fears is not the Persian, but the Idumaean who invaded the south of Palestine after the exiles had returned.[3] The last non-authenticated portion of Isaiah, as listed in this thesis, is the historical section: chapters 36-39. As has been stated above,[4] this historical section, differing (except by addition of the song of Hezekiah, 38: 9-20) only verbally from 2 Kings 18:13, 18:17-20:19, and narrating certain important events in which Isaiah was concerned, originally belonged, not in the book of Isaiah, but in the book of Kings from which it was excerpted by the compiler of the book of Isaiah. It is, however, evident that these chapters were appended to the book of Isaiah because they referred to Isaiah's prophetical work, and apparently showed that some of the most remarkable prophecies of Isaiah had been fulfilled. The above reasons for the non-authenticity of the above mentioned passages are accepted for the writing of this thesis.

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1. Driver, IDCC, p. 226. 2. Cheyne, Isi, p. 209.
3. Cheyne, Isi, pp. 210-211. 4. This Thesis, p. 25.

The other chapters in Isaiah 1-39 are to be considered as authentic, or genuine. The genuine

GENUINE PASSAGES

passages, therefore, are those which show poetical genius, conform to the criteria mentioned above,[1] and are accepted by the outstanding Biblical critics with little or no objection. They are largely in conformity with chapter 6, a chapter which certainly is Isaianic and forms the basis of much of our judgment concerning the genuineness of Isaiah's writings. In the main, therefore, we may recognize the following chapters of the book of Isaiah as genuine: chapters 1-12, chapters 14:24 through 23 (minus 21:1-10), and chapters 28 through 33.

SUMMARY OF THE GENUINE PASSAGES

There evidently appear to be four main sections which are directly connected with the prophetic activity of Isaiah. Chapters 1-12 contain Isaiah's social message; chapters 14; 24-the 23rd. chapter,(excluding 21:1-10), contain the prophet's message concerning Foreign Nations; and chapters 28-33 express a condemnation toward Israel and Judah on account of their dependence upon Egypt, instead of relying upon Jehovah, showing the folly of such a policy, and opposing the Egyptian and Assyrian parties in Israel-Judah. The process of the compilation of these prophecies doubtless began shortly before 700 B.C. and continued to about 200 B.C.[2]

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1. See this Thesis, p. 23.
2. See this Thesis, p. 21.
Eiselen, PBOT, p. 247.

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1. The Holy Bible, p. 80. 2. The Bible Unveils, p. 212. Vlaeton, 1930, p. 227.

EGYPT.

EGYPT CHARACTERIZED.

"Two vast and trunkless legs of stone
Stand in the desert. Near them on the sand,
Half sunk, a shattered visage lies,whose frown,
And wrinkled lip, and sneer of cold command,
Tell that it's sculptor well those passions read
Which yet survive,(stamped on those lifeless things,)
The hand that mocked them and the heart that fed;
And on the pedestal these words appear:
'My name is Ozymandias, king of kings;
Look on my works, ye mighty, and despair!'
Nothing beside remains. Round the decay
Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare
The lone and level sands stretch far away."

"Ozymandias"--- Shelley.

CHAPTER II. EGYPT AND ISRAEL-JUDAH (945-663 B.C.)

THE PHARAOHS AND PALESTINE.

INTRODUCTORY

Egypt did not exist as a great nation at the time of Isaiah's ministry, yet the Israelites looked upon Egypt as a deliverer. The reason for this lack of insight on the part of Israel-Judah was due to the memory of the former glory of Egypt, and, as Isaiah believed, to the Israelites' lack of faith in Yahweh. It is a significant and important matter to note the international affairs that took place between Egypt and Israel-Judah, for, as we shall see in the following pages, this influence of Egypt greatly affected the Israelite history.

PHARAOHS WHO WERE INTERESTED IN PALESTINE

Not all of the Pharaohs of Egypt between the years 945-663 B.C., but only a comparatively few of them, were interested in Palestine and it's inhabitants. In fact we find that, out of the fifteen or more chief Pharaohs of Egypt during this period, only seven, in any way, directly or indirectly, had an interest in or affected Israel-Judah to any large extent. The particular Pharaohs who showed any interest in the northern peoples, especially the Israelites, were: Sheshonk I, Osorkon II, Osorkon III, Piankhi, Bocchoris, Shabaka, and Taharkah. Of these, only four had any direct bearing on the religious concepts of Isaiah as they developed . They were: Osorkon III,

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Piankhi, Bocchoris, and Shabaka. In reference to Piankhi, we can not say that he had any special interest in the people of Israel-Judah, as we shall presently reveal. It was in a different way that he is of special significance for the study of our problem. We shall, therefore, consider the relations between Egypt and Israel-Judah in the light of the interest that the Pharaohs of Egypt had for the neighbouring states.

SHESHONK AND SOLOMON

There are several references to the Pharaoh of Egypt and Solomon. They refer to the intimacy of Pharaoh and Solomon to each other; they also show that this Pharaoh protected certain adversaries of Solomon. The passages are: 1 Kings 3:1; 9:15; 11:14-22; 11:40; and 2 Chr. 8:11. It is evident that the recognized Pharaoh in Egypt at this time was Sheshonk,[1] spoken of as Shishak in 1 Kings 11:40. This Pharaoh was the first of the dynasts of the twenty-second dynasty, and he is more properly called Sheshonk I. It may be argued that he had nothing to do with influencing the religious concepts of Isaiah, and that it is irrelevant to write of him in this connection. However it is the writer's contention that the policy of Sheshonk I had left a lasting impression on the memory of the Israelitish peoples: a memory which helped to direct the attention of the Israelites toward Egypt in Isaiah's day. This memory of the past glories of Egypt was disastrous to the people of Israel.

1. Breasted, HAE, p. 362. (Sheshonk I harboured Jeroboam.) Cp. 1 Kings 11:40 where it is Shishak, Pharaoh of Egypt who protects Jeroboam.

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Sheshonk I was an aggressive Pharaoh. He pressed his claims on Palestine so that the glorious Solomon had to become his vassal. In 1 Kings, moreover, we read that "Solomon made affinity with Pharaoh king of Egypt, and took Pharaoh's daughter, and brought her into the city of David."(3:1). The Pharaoh here mentioned, in all probability, was Sheshonk.[1] It is also to be noted that this same Pharaoh "king of Egypt had gone up, and taken Gezer, and burned it with fire, and slain the Canaanites that dwelt in the city, and given it for a present unto his daughter, Solomon's wife."[2] Solomon then built this city for his wife. Solomon also built a house for Pharaoh's daughter. It is in reference to this incident that the Chronicler shows his own interpretation of it. He says:"And Solomon brought up the daughter of Pharaoh out of the city of David unto the house that he had built her: for he said, My wife shall not dwell in the house of David king of Israel, because the places are holy, whereunto the ark of the Lord hath come."[3] Sheshonk did not give Solomon very much recognition, according to the historical evidence. He harboured the adversaries of Solomon. Two of Solomon's adversaries in particular were permitted to dwell in Egypt during Solomon's reign, and Pharaoh treated them well.[4] The one adversary was Hadad the Edomite, the king David's seed in Edom.[5] This Hadad was taken to Egypt

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4. 1 Kings 11.
5. 1 Kings 11:14.

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1. Breasted, AE, p. 389.
2. 1 Kings 9:15-16.
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4. 1 Kings 11.
5. 1 Kings 11:14.

when he was a small boy. He "found great favour in the sight of Pharaoh, so that he gave him to wife the sister of his own wife, the sister of Tahpenes the queen."[1] He also gave Hadad "an house, and appointed him victuals, and gave him land."[2] When Hadad heard that his father, David, had died, he became one of Solomon's adversaries, as an heir apparent to the throne.[3] The other adversary of Solomon, whom Pharaoh protected, was Jeroboam who later became the King of the Northern Kingdom.[4] Ahijah, the Shilonite, had prophesied to Jeroboam that he should be made king over ten Tribes. "Solomon sought therefore to kill Jeroboam. And Jeroboam arose, and fled into Egypt, unto Shishak king of Egypt, and was in Egypt until the death of Solomon."[5] The Shishak here mentioned was, as we have supposed, the man and Pharaoh otherwise known as Sheshonk I.[6] In addition to these events that took place between Solomon and Sheshonk, we learn that in the year 926 B.C. Sheshonk invaded Palestine. This was shortly after the death of Solomon. The reference to this invasion is in 1 Kings 14: 25-28. "And it came to pass in the fifth year of king Rehoboam, that Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem: and he took away the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house; he even took away all: and he took away all the shields of gold which Solomon had made."[7]

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1. 1 Kings 11:19.
2. 1 Kings 11:18.
3. 1 Kings 11:14-22.
4. 1 Kings 11:26-40.
5. 1 Kings 11:40.
6. See this Thesis, p. 34.
7. 1 Kings 14;25-26.

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Osorkon II was apparently an ally of Ahab. There evidently is no reference in the book of Kings concerning any alliance of Ahab with the Pharaoh of Egypt, but a vase bearing Osorkon's name was found at Samaria in Ahab's palace.[1] We may also infer from the policy of former kings that Ahab had relations with the Pharaoh of Egypt. At the time of Ahab's reign, moreover, the recognized ruler of Egypt was this Osorkon II. This is evident when we compare the years during which these kings reigned. The inference that Ahab was allied to Osorkon II helps to shed light on the one reason for the destruction of Israel: Israel put too much trust in Egypt, and as a result the Northern Kingdom was hastily brought to ruin and complete annihilation. Under Osorkon the capital was moved to Bubastis in the Egyptian Delta, reference to which is made in the Bible by the name Pibeseth, where the vengeance of Jehovah is called upon that city.[2] Doubtless the writer of this passage had seen that this Egyptian city had had an evil and destructive influence on Israel.

OSORKON II AND AHAB

The inventor of the destruction of Israel, however, seems to have been Osorkon III who was unable to maintain his hold over his own people,[3] yet at the same time made a number of rash promises to Israel and other Palestinian states. Because of these promises which were never fulfilled,

OSORKON III AND ISRAEL'S FATE

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1. Barton, AB, p. 35. 2. Ezekiel 30:17.
3. Breasted, HE, p. 536.

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1. Barton, AB, p. 55. 2. Ezekiel 30:17.
3. Breasted, HE, p. 536.

the name of Egypt became a synonym for destruction. This is plainly recognized in the message of Rabshakeh to the people of Jerusalem:"Now, behold, thou trustest upon the staff of this bruised reed, even upon Egypt, on which, if a man lean, it will go into his hand, and pierce it: so is Pharoah king of Egypt unto all that trust in him."[1] Although this passage did not refer to Osorkon, since the events related in connection with this passage happened over a hundred years after the time of Osorkon III, yet this passage illustrates what Osorkon III was to Israel.[2] He was a reed that bruised Israel in such a way that it meant the annihilation of Israel, because Israel believed that Egypt would rise up against the power of Assyria as she had promised. At the appointed time, Israel rebelled against Assyria, Egypt[3] did not respond until a much later time, and Israel went into captivity. This was one of the most potent factors in the development of one of the greatest religious concepts of Isaiah. This we shall reveal more fully in a later chapter.

PIANKHI'S CAMPAIGN IN EGYPT: EFFECTS

During the time that Osorkon was attempting to hold Egypt together, a large number of"independent lords or petty kinglets arose in every city of the Delta and up the river as far as Hermopolis."[4] The names of eighteen of these dynasts are known. This divided Egypt until the whole state

1. 2 Kings 18:21; Isa. 36:6.
2. Breasted, HE, p. 536.
3. Blunt, IWH, p. 58. (Dissolutionment of Egypt).
4. Breasted, HE, p. 536.

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1. P. Kings xix:37; Isa. xxxvii:38. 2. Breasted, Ancient Records, I, 390.
3. Ibid. IVB, p. 38. (Disorganization of Egypt)
4. Breasted, Ibid. p. 838.

was totally disintegrated. Its power was so completely lost that any Hebrew statesman should have easily recognized the futility of relying on Egypt, even though he were not a prophet. This shows how utterly futile was the policy of the Egyptian party in Judah. It was during this period that Piankhi, the son of king Kashta of the Upper Nile, was called by some of the northern dynasts to come to their aid and assistance. There was a fear among the many princes of Egypt that a certain dynast, Tefnakhte by name, the local dynast of Sais, was attempting to make himself the Pharaoh of all Egypt. Piankhi was then in the Southland. Messengers came to him there and appealed to him that he should master Tefnakhte. After some delay, and another message, Piankhi sent his army to check Tefnakhte and besiege Hermopolis. In the meantime Piankhi himself visited Thebes where he celebrated the feast of Opet. His army had been under a disadvantage due to the absence of Piankhi, the one whose presence was an inspiration to them. Therefore some of his men went to Piankhi and requested that he should come and be present with them. Piankhi then went to Hermopolis and captured it. He also attacked other cities along the way and made their dynasts surrender to him. But when he arrived at Memphis he found that the city was not willing to surrender to him without putting up a bold attempt to

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1. The Piankhi Stela.
   Breasted, ARE, vol. 4, pp. 418-444.

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1. Breasted, ARE, vol.4, p. 411.
2. This Thesis, pp. 37-38.
3. This is the approximate date.

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1. Breasted, [illegible], vol. 4, p. [illegible].
2. This Thesis, pp. 37-38.
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This story,which is given at length in the translation of the Piankhi Stela,reveals the internal strife of Egypt during the years when Israel was besieged and taken into captivity, never again to emerge as a united and integrated people. There had been a long period of ancient glory in the past of the Egyptian history, but it continued to be but a memory that caused Egypt to be a bruising reed to the nations near her, and especially to Israel-Judah. We can see by the data given to us in this record that anyone, who was as wide awake to the condition in the international affairs, as Isaiah was, naturally was in a position to direct the affairs of the State, and would be strongly opposed to any alliance with such an unstable and unreliable nation as Egypt. Conditions such as these, depicted in the Piankhi Stela, show that the religious convictions of Isaiah were divinely inspired on the ground of a knowledge of human events and human nature, as well as in a reasonable faith. The events, disclosed in writings such as this stela, reveal to us that there were forces at work in the time of Isaiah that made Egypt one of the factors in the development of the religious concepts of Isaiah.

Palestine was often used as a "buffer state" by both Egypt and Assyria. A "buffer state" is considered as a wall of defence, or as a place where two nations

This story, which is given at length in the translation of the Hebrew Bible, reveals the interest which of Egypt during the years when Israel was besieged and taken into captivity, never again to emerge as a united and independent people. There had been a long period of decline after in the past of the Egyptian history, but it continued to be but a memory that caused Egypt to be a trembling reed to the nations near her, and especially to Israel-Judah. We can see by the data given to us in this record that anyone, who was as wise and to the condition in the international affairs, as Isaiah was, naturally was in a position to direct the affairs of the state, and would be strongly opposed to any alliance with such an unstable and unreliable nation as Egypt. Conditions such as these, depicted in the Hebrew Bible, show that the religious convictions of Isaiah were divinely inspired on the ground of a knowledge of human events and human nature, as well as in a reasonable faith. The events, disclosed in writings such as this Bible, reveal to us that there were forces at work in the time of Isaiah that made Egypt one of the factors in the development of the religious concepts of Isaiah.

Palestine was often used as a "buffer state" by both Egypt and Assyria. A "buffer state" is considered as a wall of defense, or as a place where two nations

may fight their battles without damaging their own homes. A "Buffer State" was also considered as a substitute. In times of danger, the little State of Israel-Judah was incited to revolt in order that the Assyrian might become preoccupied with conditions there and stay away from Egypt. This was the way that Egypt looked upon Israel-Judah. Bocchoris, the son of Tefnakhte, was one who used Israel-Judah as much as he possibly could. He incited the Samaritans to revolt, and endeavored to the best of his ability to get Judah to revolt against Assyria. He, in this way, caused a great confusion, both in Egypt and among the nations near-by. He used the country of Palestine to deaden the shock that Assyria was giving. The small States of Palestine, lying between Egypt and Assyria, two rival nations, thus served to keep Assyria and Egypt from invading each others' territory; but this cost the States their own existence as separate nations. It would seem that, with Palestine as a buffer territory, the land of Egypt should have regained some of her lost radiance. However Egypt became a confusion. The prophet Isaiah portrays this in the 19th. chapter. This chapter reveals the condition of Egypt during this period and it is evident that Bocchoris is the Pharoah with whom the prophet is here concerned. The condition of Egypt

BOCCHORIS AND ISRAEL-JUDAH

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ISRAEL-JUDAH

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is explained in the 2nd. verse:"And I will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians: and they shall fight every one against his brother, and every one against his neighbour; city against city, and kingdom against kingdom."[1] This is the exact picture of confused Egypt as it tenede to exist in the days of Isaiah. Both the Biblical and archaeological data agree at this point. There is, however, another verse which points in a different direction. In verse 4 we read:"And I will give over the Egyptians into the hand of a cruel lord; and a fierce king shall rule over them, saith the Lord, the Lord of hosts."[2] Can this be Bocchoris? If it is not, then many years passed by before the Pharaoh referred to in the Biblical passage ruled thus over Egypt. The writer is inclined that it was the cruel tactics of Bocchoris over the nations in Palestine which caused the prophet to utter these words. Elsewhere we have mentioned that it was the province of the prophet to utter his message to his day and age in the light of the circumstances prevailing during his time. The contention, therefore, is that Egypt was in great confusion, as mentioned in the passage of Isaiah just cited, and that the king, Bocchoris, was endeavoring to rule with a strong hand. That Pharaoh had become brutish toward peoples of other nations; so evidently he ruled Egypt in like manner.[3]

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Meanwhile, during the reign of Bocchoris, the son of Tefnakhte, Shabaka, the brother of Piankhi, had

SHABAKA AND PALESTINE

succeeded Piankhi as the southern Pharaoh. This Shabaka had married the daughter of Piankhi and therefore based his claim to the throne, as in Egypt, not only by birth, but also through his alliance.[1] A reference is made to this king in the book of Kings.[2] In this reference we read that:"The king of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea: for he had sent messengers to So king of Egypt, and brought no present to the king of Assyria, as he had done year by year."[3] This Pharaoh, "So, is called Shab'i in the Assyrian inscriptions, and is usually identified with the Pharaoh Sabako or Shabako."[4] However Breasted writes of this Pharaoh in the following manner:"In the short reign of Shalmaneser IV,* who followed Tiglathpileser III, Israel with others was encouraged to revolt by Sewa or So, who was either an otherwise unknown Delta dynast or ruler of Musri, a kingdom of North Arabia, the name of which is so much like that of Egypt as to cause confusion in our understanding of the documents of the time."[5] The writer is inclined to differ with Breasted on this point. It is a well known fact that Egypt was the main nation of the 8th. century B.C. which caused the Israelites to rebell time and time again against Assyria. We may agree with

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1. Breasted, HE, p. 550.
2. II Kings 17:4.
3. II Kings 17:4.
4. Simpson, ABC, p. 435.
*. Elsewhere in this thesis called Shalmaneser V.
5. Breasted, HE, p. 549.

Breasted when he states that So was unknown as a dynast of Egypt: that is, he had to conquer the land of Egypt with its many dynasts before he could be recognized. Nevertheless he gradually brought many of these dynasts under his power for "lower Egypt was completely subdued, Ethiopian supremacy acknowledged and Shabaka entrenched himself so firmly that he became the founder of the 25th. or Ethiopian Dynasty, as reported by Manetho. Appreciating the serious presence of so formidable a state as Assyria on his very borders, Shabaka immediately sent his agents among the Syro-Palestinian states to excite them to revolt. In Philistia, Judah, Moab, and Edom he promised the vassals of Assyria support in rebellion against their Ninevite suzerain. Remembering the ancient supremacy of Egypt, failing to understand the decadent impotence into which she had fallen, and anxious to shake off the oppressive Assyrian yoke, they lent a ready ear to the emissaries of Shabaka. Only in Judah did the prophet-statesman, Isaiah, see the futility of depending upon Egypt, and the final catastrophe which should overtake her at the hands of Assyria. The vigilant Assyrian (Sargon),however, acted so quickly that the conspirators were glad to drop their designs and protest fidelity."[1] Isaiah was well aware of the Ethiopian power, and as a symbolical protest against any alliance of Judah with

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1. Breasted, HE, pp. 550-551.

Egypt he walked ill-clad before the people of Judah for a period of three years. This was also "for a sign and wonder upon Egypt and upon Ethiopia."[1] It was Isaiah's way of making plain a prophetic utterance:"So shall the king of Assyria lead away the Ethiopians prisoners, and the Ethiopians captives ... And they shall be afraid and ashamed of Ethiopia their expectation, and of Egypt their glory. And the inhabitants of this isle shall say in that day, Behold, such is our expectation, whither we flee for help to be delivered from the king of Assyria."[2] It is believed that this prophecy was directed against the reign of Shabaka.[3] Later Sennacherib came upon the tardy Shabaka and threatened to invade Egypt. Shabaka entrusted his army to his nephew, Taharkah, who some thirteen or fourteen years later became Pharaoh of Egypt.[4] This Taharkah is doubtless the Tirhakah of II Kings 19:9, which may also designate Shabaka who at an earlier time had charge of the Egyptian army. This passage states that when Rabshakeh tried to persuade Hezekiah king of Judah to surrender, "he heard say of Tirhakah king of Ethiopia, Behold he is come out to fight against thee."[5] In the case of the battle between Sennacherib and Taharkah however the issue was decidedly in favor of the Assyrian. "Sennacherib disposed of Taharkah's army without difficulty."[6] But before he could find time to enter Egypt, Sennacherib

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1. Isaiah 20:3.
2. Isaiah 20:4-6.
3. Leslie, "Prophets."
4. Breasted, HE, p. 552.
5. II Kings 19:9.
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suddenly retreated. "This deliverance was fortunate for Egypt. For the third time the invincible army of Assyria had stood on the very threshold of Egypt, while favoring circumstances had each time caused its withdrawal and saved the decrepit nation on the Nile for a little time from the inevitable humiliation which was now so near."[1] The Palestinian states were convinced by this that there could be no dependence placed on Egypt, and from that time Egypt could not incite them to rebell.[2] They had unhappily learned that there was a truthful element contained in the mocking statement of the officers of Sennacherib to the unhappy ambassadors of Jerusalem: "Now, behold thou trustest on the staff of this bruised reed, even upon Egypt; whereon if a man lean it will go into his hand and pierce it; so is Pharoah king of Egypt unto all that trust on him."[3] It is apparent, however, that Shabaka ruled his vassal Egyptian states for the remainder of his life in peace.[4]

SUMMARY

From this brief historical sketch we find that Egypt was looked upon as a nation and ally by the Palestinian states until after it had humiliated those states through its own inactivity in the time of need. There had been, however, an affinity between the great Solomon of Judah and Sheshonk I of Egypt. This had been an influential factor in causing

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1. Breasted, HE, p. 552-553. 2. Ibid, p. 553.
3. II Kings 18:21. 4. Breasted, HE, p. 553.

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1. Breasted, HE, p. 552-553. 2. Ibid, p. 553.
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the people of Judah and Israel to look with a great expectation upon Egypt. Israel, in particular, had so trusted in Egypt and her leaders, Osorkon II, and Osorkon III, that it brought about the annihilation of that Northern Kingdom. In the description of the condition of Egypt at the time of Piankhi's campaigns in Egypt, we are brought face to face with the internal decadence of Egypt at the close of the 8th. century B.C. There we can clearly recognize that Isaiah was right, not only from the theoretical and religious point of view, but also from the practical aspect of the situation. The Palestinian states, also, became "Buffer States" to both Egypt and Assyria. It was Bocchoris, especially, who used Palestine as a shield, for he was well aware of the strength of Assyria as he looked around himself at the decadent condition of Egypt. Shabaka was even more aggressive and attempted to force his unlawful claims upon the Palestinian states. The people feared before him, but Isaiah protested against him. Isaiah was given a new impetus for his message when the Pharaoh was defeated by Sennacherib. His prediction against Egypt was especially intended against this ruler.[1] Taharkah, who became Pharaoh a number of years later, had been the commander of Shabaka's army, and he continued the rule of the Ethiopian domination until Esarhaddon of Assyria conquered him.

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1. Isaiah 20. See this Thesis p. 46.

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1. Isaiah 30. See this thesis p. 36.

EGYPT AND JUDAH IN ISAIAH'S DAY

In the age of Isaiah Judah had become a battleground for two great nations of antiquity: Assyria and Egypt. Like an iron between the hammer and the anvil, Judah lay between these two forces. Assyria burned with the youthful fires of enterprize and conquest, while Egypt continued to exist on the reputation of its past glories. It must be remembered that Egypt had been mistress, not only of Palestine, but of Northern Syria as far as the Euphrates.[1] Nevertheless, while Egypt maintained some control in Palestine, due to her past prestige, this was fast becoming a fiction of sovereignty. Then for nearly two-hundred years (1100-945 B.C.) Egypt was not a recognized nation in the political affairs of that period.[2] Shortly after 945 B.C. Egypt again asserted her former rights of power over Palestine when Sheshonk I, or Shishak, became the despoiler of Jerusalem,[3] and brought Solomon under his suzerainty.[4] When Shabaka became Pharoah at a later period, Hoshea, the king of the Northern Kingdom of Israel, bribed him to secure his assistance against the Assyrian Monarch. The Assyrian, however, came down upon Hoshea and imprisoned him; the Egyptian had only proved to be a bruised reed for Israel.[5] It was this king, Shabaka, whom Isaiah had said the king of Assyria would lead away captive.[6] Egypt's glory lay in the past, but her influence prevailed long after her power had waned.

1. Sayce, LTI, p. 21.
2. Blunt, IWH, pp.25-26.
3. I Kings 14:25.
4. Sayce, LTI, p. 22.
5. Sayce, LTI, p. 22.
6. Isaiah 20.

ASSYRIA.

ASSYRIA CHARACTERIZED.

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Awaits alike the inevitable hour:
The paths of glory lead but to the grave."
--- Gray.

CHAPTER III. ASSYRIA AND ISRAEL-JUDAH (950-671 B.C.)

SECTION ONE: THE FIRST ASSYRIAN EMPIRE.

Assyria, in its earliest years, before the advent of Tiglathpileser III, created the impression of

MILITANT ASSYRIA

possessing superabounding strength and energy which was shiftlessly used without any progressive purpose to guide it. There was a long roll of military expeditions which extended the Assyrian territory, but the new regions that were opened up were not made an integral part of a powerful empire, such as we find in the case of the above mentioned monarch. The territory was extended, but not mastered. For this reason, together with the obstacles that the expeditions confronted, there soon appeared the gloomy outlook relative to the future of the Assyrian State.[1]

In spite of this militant character of Assyria, however, the Assyrians of this period had kept an his-

THE LIMU LIST

torically scientific document, the Limu List, which had dated back as far as the fourteenth century B.C. In fact several such lists were kept. The lists which have been discovered are much later than the fourteenth century B.C.; the longest one, which is the list that is significant for the period of our study in connection with this thesis,

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1. Goodspeed, HBA, p. 221.

extends from 893-650 B.C. This is of indispensable worth to historical science today. The limu system went far toward compensating for the lack of an era according to which the dates of events might be definitely fixed.[1] "From the royal officers one was appointed each year to give his name to the year. He or his official status during that period was called limu, and events or documents were dated by his name. The king usually acted as limu for the first full year of his reign. He was followed in succession by the Tartan, or commander-in-chief, the Grand Vizier, the Chief Musician, the Chief Eunuch, and the governors of the several provinces or cities. Lists of these limu were preserved in the royal archives, forming a fixed standard of the greatest practical value for the checking off of events, or the dating of documents."[2]

OBSTACLES CAUSED BY MILITARY PLAN

The policy which the early kings of Assyria had followed, and executed, had given rise to obstacles of a character which had not been encountered up to that time.[3] On account of the policy of Assyria, nations nearby began to unite for self-defence. Great power and skill were necessary to overcome this concentration of opposition. Nations were being formed, moulded by the national impulses and aspirations that the Assyrians had incited in the peoples and lands that bordered Assyrian territory.[4]

1. Goodspeed, HBA, p. 40.
2. Goodspeed, HBA, p. 40.
3. Ibid, p. 222.
4. Ibid.

ASSYRIA.

The Destruction of Sennacherib.

"The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold,
And his cohorts were gleaming in purple and gold;
And the sheen of his spears was like stars on the sea,
When the blue wave rolls nightly on deep Galilee.

"Like the leaves of the forest when Summer is green,
That host with their banners at sunset were seen:
Like the leaves of the forest when Autumn hath blown,
That host on the morrow lay wither'd and strown.

"For the angel of death spread his wings on the blast,
And breathed in the face of the foe as he pass'd;
And the eyes of the sleepers wax'd deadly and chill,
And their hearts but once heaved, and for ever grew still!

...

"And the might of the Gentile unsmote by the sword,
Hath melted like snow in the glance of the Lord!"

--- Byron.

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SECTION TWO: THE SECOND ASSYRIAN EMPIRE.

The situation which the preceding years had developed: a gloomy outlook for the hope of the Assyrian nation, all this was changed when the throne of Assyria was seized by a military adventurer called Pulu, or Pul, TIGLATHPILESER III who took the name of Tiglathpileser III.[1] It has been mentioned that "great power and skill were necessary to overcome the concentration of opposition"[2] of other nations. That great power and skill were not lacking in this new king. He was "a man of great ability and force of character."[3] "We do not know the origin of this strange man, for in the pride of later years he never mentioned either his father or mother, for they were probably humble folk who did not live in the king's house. He was perhaps an army captain or commander; an officer who had led some part of the greatest standing army that the world had then known. He may also have held a civil post as governor of some province or district."[4] In 745 B.C. he was crowned king, and at once he left his capital city to display his military and civil ability to the nations that had existed long before his day. The fact that he left his capital and country so soon after his coronation "shows how sure he was of his own ability, and how confident that his personal popularity or his reputation for severe discipline would maintain the peace."[5]

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1. Sayce, LTI, p. 40.
2. This thesis, p. 51.
3. Sayce, LTI, p. 40.
4. Blunt, IWH, p. 53.
5. Blunt, IWH, p. 53.
   Rogers, HBA, vol. 2, p. 263.
   Rogers, HBA, vol. 2, p. 264.

EXPULSION THROUGH ASSYRIAN EYES.

The situation which the prophets Nahum and Zephaniah had developed: a gloomy outlook for the hope of the Assyrian nation. All this was changed when the throne of Assyria was seized by a military adventurer called Pul, or Tul.

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1. Sayce, LTI, p. 40.
2. Sayce, LTI, p. 40.
3. Blunt, IWM, p. 53.
4. Blunt, IWM, p. 53.
5. Rogers, HBA, vol. 2, p. 254.
6. Rogers, HBA, vol. 2, p. 254.

This was the kind of a man who was soon to show how weak Israel's pretentious strength was, and how formidable the real menace of Assyria could be. Of this danger the prophets had warned Israel, but Israel did not hear.

A new experiment in political history began when Tiglathpileser III founded the second Assyrian empire. In the former national policies, the conception of imperial centralization had not been realized. This was one of the reasons why the work of his predecessors had to be done over again by Tiglathpileser. Formerly, whenever the ruler died, the subject nations found their opportunity to regain their independence. The plan of empire which this new monarch designed was to make it almost impossible for the conquered nations to regain their former independence. He, therefore, based his empire upon military aggression, and carried it on by consolidating it and continuing its existence by means of civil law. "There was to be one law and government throughout the world, one supreme monarch to obey, one supreme deity: Assur, the national god of Assyria: to revere."[1] The way in which such a policy affected Isaiah can readily be seen; but this will be dealt with in a later chapter which is to show how Assyria affected the development of some of the religious concepts of Isaiah. In his conquests, the Assyrian

THE FIRST WORLD EMPIRE

1. Sayce, LTI, pp. 41-42.

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1. Sayce, HRI, pp. 11-42.

monarch made a sweeping conquest of his neighbours, overpowered Media, Urartu, and Babylonia during his first three years, and then turned his attention toward the west. Isaiah pictures the terror of the Assyrian march very graphically in the following passage:"behold,they shall come with speed swiftly. None shall be weary or stumble among them; none shall slumber nor sleep; neither shall the girdle of their loins be loosed, nor the latchet of their shoes be broken; whose arrows are sharp, and all their bows bent; their horses'hoofs shall be counted like flint, and their wheels like a whirlwind; their roaring shall be like a lion, they shall roar like young lions; yea, they shall roar and lay hold of the prey, and carry it away safe, and there shall be none to deliver. And they shall roar against them in that day like the roaring of the sea; and if one look unto the land, behold darkness and distress, and the light is darkened in the clouds thereof."[1] This was spoken a few years later than the westward march of Tiglathpileser, nevertheless it is a general description of the Assyrian movement.[2] No power could stand before this Assyrian king: though he was sometimes detained in a siege that might last two years, he overpowered the besieged nation or city eventually. By 738 B.C. Damascus, Tyre, Israel, and the whole of Syria had submitted.[3] We read that Menahem of

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Israel "gave Pul (Tiglathpileser) a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand."[1] Into Judah, however, the Assyrian had not yet entered. The other Syrian states that Tiglathpileser had conquered, he organized into provinces.[2] He appointed lords over these provinces, as well as over the villages and chariots.[3] The previous monarchs had made use of deportation, but Tiglathpileser was the first to employ it on a large scale;[4] "The daughters of the east did Tiglathpileser bring to the west, and the daughters of the west to the east."[5] In all the newly organized provinces he set up the cult of Ashur as well as his own suzerainty, and he ordered his vassal leaders to follow his example in worship and government. It was during this period that Ahaz, king of Judah, had the new altar made, according to the Ashur pattern in Damascus.[6] This altar was placed in the temple at Jerusalem. By this act Yahweh was looked upon by Ahaz as a "minor deity, deprived of all regular sacrifices, his only function was to deliver oracles at the bronze altar brought from the temple forefront and placed north of the new altar."[7] This is but one example of the way in which the policies of Tiglathpileser affected the nations which submitted to his authority, and in particular how it affected the worship of Yahweh. But a political disturbance in the west next attracted the attention of the Assyrian monarch.

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1. 2 Kings 15:19.
2. Olmstead, HPS, p. 433.
3. Olmstead, HPS, p. 435.
4. Ibid, p. 436.
5. Ibid, p. 436.
6. Ibid, p. 453.
7. Ibid, p. 452.

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In the year 742 B.C. the first contact took place between Judah and Assyria. This contact was by no means a friendly one. While Tiglathpileser did not attack

FIRST CONTACT OF JUDAH AND ASSYRIA

Judah directly, he did attack a close ally of Azariah of Jerusalem. It was the town of Hamath that the Assyrian king threatened. Ever since the time of David there had been friendly relations between Hamath and Judah. Both of these had had a common enemy in the power of Syria. When Hadadezer, the Syrian prince, had been overthrown, an alliance had been brought about between Toi of Hamath and the Jewish conqueror. Again, "when the kingdom of Damascus was established on the ruins of David's empire, in the days of Jeroboam II, a peculiar bond of union still continued to exist between Hamath and Judah. The same fact also appears on the Assyrian monuments. According to these monuments the people of Hamath were supported in their resistance to Assyria by Azariah, the Jewish king, and accordingly nineteen districts of Hamath...were overrun by Assyrian troops and placed under an Assyrian governor."[1] However, Azariah in 739 B.C. had formed a coalition of Syrian states against Tiglathpileser. It comprised nineteen states, including Hamath, Damascus and Israel. But as it had happened to Syria before, the alliance fell to pieces as soon as it was tested. Therefore, in 738 B.C. all the Syrian states had submitted; Judah alone remained.[2]

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1. Bayce, ibid, p. 46. 2. Wright, ibid, p. 94.

After Tiglathpileser's first campaign in the west, there had been a respite of three years of peace.

TIGLATHPILESER AND THE SYRO-EPHRAIMITISH WAR

It was now eight years since the Assyrian had first set foot on the Israelitish soil; for the first contact which Tiglathpileser made with Palestine was three years after his coronation. His earliest contact, then, with the Israelites was in 742 B.C. In 738 B.C. he had exacted tribute from Tyre, Samaria, and Damascus. Judah alone remained of the Palestinian states as an independent nation. But in 734 B.C. the wild feverishness of national politics ran high in Palestine. It was this that brought the Assyrian back to the west. The Assyrians had often taken advantage of just such political events to conquer territories in which there was strife among the inhabitants. In Palestine some new developments were taking place. Menahem, the king of Israel who had made obeisance to the king of Assyria, had died, "and Pekahiah his son reigned in his stead...two years...But Pekah the son of Remaliah, a captain of his, conspired against him, and smote him in Samaria."[1] Pekah then became king of Israel. "In the seventeenth year of Pekah the son of Remaliah Ahaz the son of Jotham king of Judah began to reign...Then Rezin king of Syria and Pekah son of Remaliah king of Israel came up to Jerusalem to war: and they besieged Ahaz, but could not overcome him."[2] These two

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kings endeavored to form a confederacy of the Syrian and Palestinian states against their common Assyrian foe. In order that they might more easily carry out their purpose, Pekah and Rezin thought it was necessary to replace the Judean king, Ahaz, with a Syrian puppet of their own. The proposed Syrian that they wished to place on the throne of Judah was the so called "son of Tabeel".[1] In this way they could organize a league to resist Assyrian aggression. Some scholars claim, however, that this was not the purpose of the northern states. They claim that the real purpose was to take advantage of the weakness of Judah to plunder and divide the country among the other nations.[2] This, however, does not seem a satisfactory explanation to the writer when the circumstances are taken into account. The court at Samaria had invoked the assistance of Egypt. Relations with Egypt had been formed. The only state that stood in the way of a complete confederacy of the west was Judah; and Judah was not willing to enter into the confederacy. Therefore Pekah and Rezin sought to force Judah to enter it. If they could place on the throne of Judah one of their own tools the rest would be quickly accomplished. A war then ensued, called the Syro-Ephraimitish war, 734-732 B.C. It is so called from the fact that in it "Syria was confederate with Ephraim."[3] When it was known that evil was purposed against the house of

1. Isaiah 7:6. 2. Goodspeed, HBA, p. 232.
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David, the people of Judah rallied around their king, in spite of the weak and unworthy character of that man, and the allies found that they could not easily place their nominee on the throne; it was necessary for them to resort to arms if they wished to carry out their plans. Nevertheless, there was a party in Judah that favored the Syrians and Ephraimites. In this moment of crisis, Isaiah received a summons to meet Ahaz and comfort him. The confederacy had come up to the gates of Jerusalem,"And it was told the house of David, saying, Syria is confederate with Ephraim. And his heart was moved, and the heart of his people, as the trees of the wood are moved with the wind. Then said the Lord unto Isaiah, Go forth now to meet Ahaz, thou and Shear-jashub thy son, at the end of the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fullers field; And say unto him, Take heed and be quiet; fear not, neither let thine heart be faint, because of these two smoking firebrands, for the fierce anger of Rezin and Syria, and of the son of Remaliah. Because Syria hath counselled evil against thee, Ephraim also, and the son of Remeliah, saying, Let us go up against Judah, and vex it, and let us make a breach therein for us, and set up a king in the midst of it, even the son of Tabeal: Thus saith the Lord God, It shall not stand, neither shall it come to pass. For the head of Syria is Damascus, and the head of Damascus is Rezin; and within three score and

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five years shall Ephraim be broken in pieces, that it be not a people. And the head of Ephraim is Samaria, and the head of Samaria is Remaliah's son. If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established."[1] This message Isaiah conveyed to Ahaz who had gone forth to inspect the water supply. But Ahaz had determined on the policy he was going to take: a policy that was contrary to the advice of Isaiah. He did not believe the prophet or his message. He was in quest of safety; and this safety he would seek at the court of the Assyrian King. He therefore invoked the assistance of the Assyrian King, by bribing him with an offer of homage and tribute, to march against the Syro-Ephraimitish confederacy which threatened Jerusalem. "So Ahaz sent messengers to Tiglathpileser king of Assyria, saying, I am thy servant and thy son: come up and save me out of the hand of the king of Syria, and out of the hand of the king of Israel, which rise up against me. And Ahaz took the silver and gold that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house, and sent it for a present to the king of Assyria. And the king of Assyria hearkened unto him: and the king of Assyria went up against Damascus, and took it, and carried the people of it captive to Kir, and slew Rezin."[2] While the king of Assyria was at Damascus, Ahaz went to him in person and pledged fealty to Assyria. It was at

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But, as we have seen in the account given above, Ahaz would not listen. He sent to the Assyrian, became one of his vassal leaders, and submitted to his policy in religion as well as in politics. Therefore, when Ahaz asked the Assyrian to fight against the Syro-Ephraimitish confederacy, Tiglathpileser was ready to respond. He had been waiting this kind of an opportunity to interfere in the west; this was made possible by the message of the Jewish king: it meant that the all important fortress of Jerusalem, which both Assyria and Egypt had desired, was on his side: a fortress and alliance which might prevent the Egyptians from moving to help the Syrian prince. Ahaz therefore helped Tiglathpileser to "effect with comparatively little difficulty what might otherwise have been a slow and arduous task. At the same time, by voluntarily acknowledging himself the vassal of Assyria, he laid a lasting yoke upon his country and successors, and made all future attempts at independence rebellions against their liege lord."[1] Ahaz paid his tribute first in 734 B.C. Within the next two years, 734-732 B.C., the Assyrian king conquered the powers of Damascus and Samaria. He invaded the north of Israel, and went even as far as Gaza, which he captured. Then he marched upon Samaria. Pekah had shut himself up in the city of Samaria.[2] This the king would have taken

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Tiglathpileser III, in his eighteen years of ruling, (745-727 B.C.), had raised Assyria from it's

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1. Blunt, IWH, p. 56.
2. 2 Kings 15:29.
3. Goodspeed, HBA, p. 233.
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6. Sayce, LTI, p. 47.

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impotent worthless condition"to be the first world power of the ancient world, with an extent of territory and an efficiency of administration never before attained."[1] He established fortified military posts through-out the country he had conquered, and placed Assyrian leaders there to represent the Assyrian authority. The provincial officers,called bel pikhati,"lords of the districts", were responsible for preserving order and collecting the regular tribute in the particular district over which they were assigned.[2] They also served as protectors against attacks that might be made upon the people in their restricted areas. The states which existed before their submission to the Assyrian king were permitted to continue on the same terms as before their submission with the exception of the tribute assessment and some deportation,as well as importation,of the peoples in the districts. Where there was little contention,there was little exchange of its inhabitants; but in obstinate cases there was a considerable and drastic deportation and dispersion. "The result of this policy was to remove the dangers of insurrection arising out of local or national spirit, and to strengthen Assyrian administration in the provinces."[3] This method was put into operation in Babylon which the Assyrian conquered,[4] just as it was carried out in the west. Assyria

TIGLATHPILESER'S AUTHORITY

1. Goodspeed, HBA, p. 237-238. 2. Ibid, p. 238.
3. Ibid, p. 239. 4. Blunt, IWH, p. 57.

impotent worthless condition" to be the first world power of the ancient world, with an extent of territory and an efficiency of administration never before attained."[1] He established fortified military posts through-out the country he had conquered, and placed Assyrian leaders there to represent the Assyrian authority. The provincial officers, called bel pikhati, "lords of the districts", were responsible for preserving order and collecting the regular tribute in the particular district over which they were assigned.[2] They also served as protectors against attacks that might be made upon the people in their restricted areas. The states which existed before their submission to the Assyrian king were permitted to continue on the same terms as before their submission with the exception of the tribute assessment and some deportation, as well as importation, of the peoples in the districts. Where there was little contention, there was little exchange of its inhabitants; but in obstinate cases there was a considerable and drastic deportation and dispersion. "The result of this policy was to remove the dangers of insurrection arising out of local or national spirit, and to strengthen Assyrian administration in the provinces."[3] This method was put into operation in Babylon which the Assyrian conquered,[4] just as it was carried out in the west. Assyria

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In the first chapter of this thesis, mention was made concerning the Annals of Tiglathpileser.[2] One

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excerpt is there given relative to a campaign against the land of Palestine in 733-732 B.C. In this excerpt and other similar excerpts we are brought face to face with the circumstances that Isaiah confronted during two of the periods of his prophetic utterances. The seventh fragment of the Annals tells of a war that Tiglathpileser waged against Azariah(Uzziah) of Judah. This occured about 740, or 739 B.C.: the year of Isaiah's call. The text that refers to this expedition is very greatly mutilated, but parts of it seem to suggest the following interpretation as herein paraphrased:[3]

> "(In the)course of my expedition the tribute of the kings (I exacted.)(Among them was) Azariah of Judah like a (bird in a cage)...of the great Assyrian army they heard, and their heart feared...their cities I pulled down, destroyed."

This fear of the nations is likewise expressed in the passage quoted from the book of Isaiah as seen above.[4]

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1. Blunt, IWH, p. 57.
2. See this Thesis, p. 4.
3. Smith, AD, p. 275.
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The general submission of Palestine is mentioned in the historical tablet.[1] In it mention is made concerning the tribute which Tiglathpileser received from:

> "Metinti of Askelon, Yauhazi(Jehoahaz) of Judah... Hanun of Gaza, gold, silver, lead, iron, antimony, clothing the clothing of their country, lapis-lazuli... produce of the sea and land, taken from their country."

These records, therefore, are of the highest interest in the light they shed on the book of Kings, for here we recognize the names of Azariah and Jehoahaz, kings of Judah, and also other kings of the region of Palestine mentioned in the Bible. The later records help to affirm the Biblical account of Tiglathpileser's campaign into Syria, to assist Ahaz king of Judah. The tenth fragment describes the defeat of Rezin:[2]

> "...his warriers I captured,with the sword I destroyed (them)...He to save his life fled away alone...into the great gate of his city he entered. His generals alive in hand I captured, and on crosses I raised them. His country I subdued...Damascus his city I besieged, and like a caged bird I enclosed him. His forests...the trees of which were without number, I cut down and I did not leave one."

This is a much more detailed account than the account given in 2 Kings 16. Nevertheless, both Kings and the Annals of Tiglathpileser record the defeat of Rezin.

In the twelfth fragment we have a record of the subjugation of Israel and Pekah:[3]

> "...governors over them I appointed...the cities... to the borders of Assyria I joined...their furniture to Assyria I sent. Pekah their king...and Hoshea to the kingdom over them I appointed...their tribute of them I received, and to Assyria I sent."

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> "Forty-five people from his camp I brought together before his city, and I shut him in like a bird in a cage. His parks, his orchards, which were without number, I cut down and did not leave one. Hadara, the home of the father of Rezin of Damascus,(the place where) he was born, I besieged, I captured. 800 people, together with their possessions, his gods, I took as spoil...The city of Gaza (I captured. His goods), his possessions, his gods (I took as spoil)...My royal image in the palace of (Hanno I set up). The country of the house of Omri...all its people, (and their possessions) I carried away unto Assyria. Pekah, their king, they had overthrown. Hoshea (as king) over them I placed. 10 talents of gold...talents of silver I received as tribute from them."

With reference to the last statement made in the above quotation, Menahem, a former king of Israel, is said to have given Pul a thousand talents of silver.[6] This is doubtless included in the amount of tribute which Pul, or Tiglathpileser, exacted from the Palestinian states.

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2. Sayce, ILT, p. 92.
3. Barton, AB, p. 464.
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These inscriptions are fragmentary, but they are very significant. They help to confirm, explain, and

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verify a number of passages in the book of Kings, such as: 2 Kings 15:19, 29-30. They also show how completely Tiglathpileser conquered the West. In some places the book of Kings gives a more detailed account of the events, while in other incidents the Annals record the more detailed account. But more than this, they help us to understand that there were particular circumstances in his environment that affected and influenced Isaiah. Twice during the reign of Tiglathpileser was Isaiah aroused into prophetic action on a profound plain: (1) in 740 B.C., and (2) during the campaign of Palestine in 734-732 B.C. There were great developments that took place in the religious concepts of Isaiah during those years, as we shall find in a later chapter in this thesis.[1]

Shalmaneser V came to the throne of Assyria in 727 B.C., and he reigned for five years.[2] This change in

SHALMANESER V

Assyrian rulers suggested to Hoshea, king of Israel, that a favorable time had come for him to renounce his allegiance to the Assyrians. In earlier times an empire existed during the life-time of the conqueror. The conqueror, Tiglathpileser, was dead. Therefore, thought Hoshea, the time had come to proclaim his independence. Moreover, a certain Pharoah of Egypt, called So,[3]

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3. 2 Kings 17:4.

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3. 2 Kings 17:4.

or Sewe, whom we have recognized as Shabaka,[1] stirred up an intrigue among the tributary kings of Palestine, promising to aid them in gaining their freedom from the Assyrians. Therefore "the king of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea: for he had sent messengers to So king of Egypt, and brought no present to the king of Assyria, as he had done year by year."[2] When Hoshea refused to pay tribute, it is probable that other kings, especially the king of Tyre, his friend and ally, followed his example. The Assyrian king, Shalmaneser, came on the scene into the land of Palestine in 725 B.C., overran the entire country, and made terms of peace. Israel, however, was not easily mastered. Hoshea and his notable men shut themselves in the city of Samaria, hoping that Egypt and the other allies would come to them with reinforcements. The reinforcements did not appear. Egypt continued to be as "Rahab that sitteth still",[3] and as "a bruising reed."[4] In 724 B.C. Shalmaneser began the siege of Samaria and continued it through the next year. No help came to the Israelites, and still they defied the Assyrians. The country around Samaria was laid waste far and wide. Then, before the city of Samaria could be made to surrender, Shalmaneser died. It is believed that he was murdered to make it possible for a more aggressive leader[5] to succeed him.

SIEGE OF SAMARIA

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2. 2 Kings 17:4.
3. Isaiah 30:7.
4. 2 Kings 18:21.
5. Blunt, IWH, p. 58. See this thesis p. 47.

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of the people of the east to dwell in Palestine. People from the lands which he had conquered were those whom he claimed he had transported to the west. Some Israelites, to be sure, were left in the land, but they were quickly assimilated by the new invaders.[3] From Sargon's Inscriptions we learn

RISE OF THE SAMARITANS

that 27,290[4] people were carried away from the land of Israel. Doubtless this number only included the leaders and the more important families, for this could not have been the total population of Israel.[5] In time these two groups of people, the Israelites and the people of the east, formed a mixed group and race,"called the Samaritans, in which the Israelite element so preponderated that Yahweh continued to be

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worshipped (though with the admixture of heathen elements), and the law of Moses became their Bible."[1] These people had been too weak to resist foreign rule, yet they survived, so that even today small colonies of the Samaritan people dwell near Shechem and keep the religion of their ancestors.

PLOT OF MERO-DACH-BALADAN

Sargon was able to carry out the designs of his predecessor, Tiglathpileser, whereby he consolidated the empire. He had shown that the Assyrian nation was a world power that did not base all its authority and force on the king of Assyria, although the kings were very aggressive. Each succeeding king followed the example and design of Tiglathpileser III. This was more of a guarantee for keeping the nation intact than it could have been possible if each new king had tried to enforce some new method. After Sargon had so thoroughly subjected the Palestinian states in 722 B.C. and 720 B.C., there was a brief period of peace. Then in 711 B.C. another insurrection occurred.[2] This time there was a combined policy put into action by the east and the west to conquer Assyria. In the south and east of Assyria there was a certain Merodach-baladan who ruled over an independent portion of Babylonia. This ruler saw that the power of Assyria was steadily rising in strength. He knew that the

1. Blunt, IWH, p. 59. 2. Sayce, LTI, p. 53.

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king of Assyria would soon invade Babylonia in an attempt to master all that land. He saw the possibility of forming an alliance with Elam in the east, and an alliance, or coalition, among the western nations, including Egypt. If these two groups could be formed at the same time, he could cause the division of the Assyrian army. Then, at a given time, both groups could make an attack upon the divided army and destroy the power of Assyria. He, therefore, looked about him for an opportunity to carry on his secret service work. He had heard that Hezekiah, king of Judah, had been ill and was recovering from his sickness. Surely this was a rare opportunity to make a visit to Jerusalem. Accordingly ambassadors came to Jerusalem from the court of Babylon under the pretext of congratulating the Jewish king on his recovery from sickness. Their real object, however, was altogether different. They wanted to plan with Hezekiah concerning a general uprising against Assyria. Hezekiah was flattered because these men gave him such an important place in their plan. He, therefore, opened up the treasuries and showed these Babylonians all his wealth. When Isaiah came to him with the stern rebuke and the prophecy that the day was coming when all the wealth of Jerusalem would be taken by Babylon, Hezekiah hung his head in shame, but he did not make any effort to change the plans he had made with the

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Babylonian ambassadors. The thirty-ninth chapter of the book of Isaiah tells about this visit and the rebuke of Isaiah:[1]

> "At that time Merodach-baladan, the son of Baladan, king of Babylon, sent letters and a present to Hezekiah: for he heard that he had been sick and was recovered. And Hezekiah was glad of them, and shewed them the house of his precious things, the silver, and the gold, and the spices, and the precious oil, and all the house of his armour, and all that was found in his treasures: there was nothing in his house, nor in all his dominion, that Hezekiah shewed them not. Then came Isaiah the prophet unto king Hezekiah, and said unto him, What said these men? and from whence came they unto thee? And Hezekiah said, They are come from a far country unto me, even from Babylon. Then said he, What have they seen in thy house? And Hezekiah answered, All that is in mine house have they seen: there is nothing among my treasures that I have not shewed them. Then said Isaiah to Hezekiah, Hear the word of the Lord of hosts: Behold, the days come, when all that is in thine house, and that which thy fathers have laid up in store until this day, shall be carried to Babylon: nothing shall be left, saith the Lord. And of thy sons that shall issue from thee, which thou shalt beget, shall they take away; and they shall be eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon. Then said Hezekiah unto Isaiah, Good is the word of the Lord which thou hast spoken. He said moreover, For there shall be peace and truth in my days."

In spite of the words of Isaiah, Hezekiah became an ally with the heathen powers. But while all these things were taking place, Sargon himself was on duty. Therefore he struck before the enemy could unite their forces. The land of Palestine was invaded, and Ashdod, a center of opposition to Assyria, was made a center of attack by Assyria. Edom and Moab were brought into subjection while the Ethiopian Pharoah, Shabaka, lurked in the shadows.[2]

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The city of Ashdod was captured and burned to the ground. Sargon himself entered Judah and compelled the city of Jerusalem to surrender to his authority. The plan of Merodach-baladan had failed, and the entire Assyrian force was turned upon him and Babylon. He was decidedly defeated and sought refuge in the marshes, leaving his city, Babylon, in the hands of the Assyrians.

A few years after he had taken Babylon, Sargon was murdered. This was in the year 705 B.C. His son, Sennacherib, then became the king. It is to be noted,

MURDER OF SARGON

however, that the reign of Sargon was the peak of Assyrian supremacy. "Assyria was never so great in extent, never so rich in silver and gold and all precious things, never so brilliant in the achievements of art and architecture, never more devoted to the gods and their temples"[1] than during the reign of Sargon. But at the end of such achievements "a violent death is recorded...His son, Sennacherib, was then summoned to the throne which he ascended in the year 705 B.C."[2]

The inscriptions of Sargon tell of the events that are only alluded to in Isaiah 20:1, where Isaiah

SARGON'S INSCRIPTIONS

says: "Tartan came unto Ashdod (when Sargon the king of Assyria sent him) and fought against Ashdod and took it."[3] One of his inscriptions, however, tells of the fall of Samaria. It was in

1. Goodspeed, HBA, p. 263. 2. Ibid, p. 264.
3. Isaiah 20:1.

The city of Ashdod was captured and burned to the ground. Sargon himself entered Judah and compelled the city of Jerusalem to surrender to his authority. The plan of Merodach-baladan had failed, and the entire Assyrian force was turned upon him and Babylon. He was decidedly defeated and sought refuge in the marshes, leaving his city, Babylon, in the hands of the Assyrians.

A few years after he had taken Babylon, Sargon was murdered. This was in the year 705 B.C. His son, Sennacherib, then became the king. It is to be noted,

MURDER OF SARGON however, that the reign of Sargon was the peak of Assyrian supremacy. "Assyria was never so great in extent, never so rich in silver and gold and all precious things, never so brilliant in the achievements of art and architecture, never more devoted to the gods and their temples"[1] than during the reign of Sargon. But at the end of such achievements "a violent death is recorded...His son, Sennacherib, was then summoned to the throne which he ascended in the year 705 B.C."[2]

The inscriptions of Sargon tell of the events that are only alluded to in Isaiah 20:1, where Isaiah says: "Tartan came unto Ashdod (when Sargon the king of Assyria sent him) and fought against Ashdod and took it."[3] One of his inscriptions, however, tells of the fall of Samaria. It was in

SARGON'S INSCRIPTIONS

1. Goodspeed, HEA, p. 263. 2. Ibid, p. 264.
3. Isaiah 20:1.

the first year of his reign that the fall of Samaria took place:[1] (722 B.C.)

"At the beginning of my reign, in my first year... Samaria I besieged, I captured. 27,290 people from it's midst I carried captive. 50 chariots I took there as an addition to my royal force...I returned and made more than formerly to dwell. People from lands which my hands had captured I settled in the midst. My officers over them as governors I appointed. Tribute and taxes I imposed upon them after the Assyrian manner."

The other inscription refers to the fall of Ashdod.[2] (711 B.C.)

"In the ninth year(error for 11th) of my reign I marched to the coast of the great sea...to (punish) Philistia, Judah, Edom, Moab, who inhabit the sea-coast, payers of tribute, and taxes to Ashur, my lord. Planning rebellion and untold evil against me, they bore their pledges to Pharoah, king of Egypt, a prince who could not help them, and sought his aid. I, Sargon, the faithful prince, who honors the oath of Nabu and Marduk, who guards the name of Ashur, caused my trusty troops to cross the Tigris and Euphrates at high water. As for him, Yamani, their king, who had trusted in his own power, and had not submitted to my lordship, he heard of the advance of my army. The fear of Ashur, my lord, cast him down, and to the borders of (Egypt) ...he fled away."

In these inscriptions we find material that supplements and verifies the writings concerning these events in the Bible. More over, before these inscriptions were found, the only place where the name of Sargon was recorded was in the Bible. In the first inscription given above we have a record about the fall of Samaria which is a helpful and significant factor in understanding the circumstances and events which surrounded the teachings of Isaiah at these two important periods. When Samaria fell

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1. Barton, AB, p. 467.
   Sayce, ILT, pp. 92-93.

2. Barton, AB, p. 468.
   Sayce, ILT, pp. 92-93.
   Smith, AD, pp.289-292.

Isaiah was much more concerned about the safety of Jerusalem, and it gave rise to the development of one of his concepts in religion. The second inscription, as has been noted, tells about the campaign of 711 B.C. when Ashdod was taken, and when Jerusalem was more directly brought under Assyrian control. This has a significant bearing on the development of Isaiah's religious concept that includes his view of the purpose of Assyria's existence as a world power. We shall, therefore, return to these inscriptions in connection with our study of the development of these concepts.

The last king of Assyria with whom this study has to do is Sennacherib between the years 705 B.C. and

SENNACHERIB

701 B.C. Sargon had been murdered in 705 B.C. and succeeded by his son Sennacherib.[1] Sennacherib had been brought up in the king's house, and he was therefore very different from his father: he was weak and vainglorious, cowardly, cruel, and boastful in success.[2] When the news of the decease of Sargon reached Babylon, Merodach-baladan again appeared in Babylon and prepared to set up the independent rule of Babylon.[3] Therefore the new king had to restore his authority over Babylon. Two years after he ascended the throne, or in 703 B.C., Sennacherib sent his entire force against the Babylonians and their allies.[4] He completely conquered them and drove

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2. Sayce, ILT, p. 61.
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2. Sayce, ITT, p. 81.
3. Driver, ITT, p. 55.
4. Driver, ITT, p. 55.

the crafty Merodach-baladan into the marshes. In his own inscriptions, Sennacherib has preserved for us the account of that campaign:[1]

> " Merodach-baladan, king of Kardunias, together with the troops of Elam, in front of the city of Kish, I defeated. In the midst of the battle he abandoned his baggage; he fled alone; into the land of Guzumman he escaped; he entered in among the marshes and reeds; his life alone he saved. The chariots,...horses, mules, asses, dromedaries,and camels, which he left on the field of battle, my hands captured. His palace in Babylon I entered with rejoicing; I opened his treasuries; gold and silver, vessels of gold and silver, precious stones of every kind, his goods and possessions, abundant treasure, his wife, the women of his palace, his nobles, all the people there were in his palace, I brought forth, I counted then as spoil, I took possession of them. My soldiers I dispatched after him...into the midst of the marshes and reeds. Five days passed; but not a trace of him was seen. In the might of Asshur my lord, 89 strong cities and fortresses of Chaldea, as well as 820 smaller towns round about them, I besieged, I took, I carried away their spoil."

From this account we can understand something of the character of the campaigns of Sennacherib. The ruthless king left no stones unturned; he plundered everything in his pathway; he caused the nations to fear because of him, so that he procured the submission of many peoples without waging battle against them.

HEZEKIAH'S CONFEDERACY

But to the Palestinian states, the accession of the new king to the throne was a signal for revolt. There a number of states formed themselves into a confederacy with Hezekiah, king of Judah at the head of it.[2] For more than ten years there

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was little Assyrian aggression in the west. The Palestinian states, therefore, were reasserting their freedom. The center of revolt in the north was Sidon; in the south, the Philistine cities of Ashkelon and Ekron; Egypt, of course, was intriguing the whole background of the revolt; and now at length the Egyptian party in Judah had overcome the remonstrances of Isaiah, and dominated the king.[1] With implicit reliance on the promises of Egypt, and an understanding with the Philistine cities as well as with Tyre and Sidon,[2] Hezekiah formed his confederacy including: Phoenicia, Ammon, Moab, Edom, Egypt. In the case of Egypt, as we have noted, Taharka was to lead the army of Shabaka, Pharaoh of Egypt, against the Assyrians at the same time that the other members of Hezekiah's coalition rose up in rebellion.[3] Hezekiah first made sure that there was no formidable group of people opposing the confederacy in the west. He made secure his position against the Philistine cities; he took the king of Ekron, Padi by name, and threw him into chains at Jerusalem, for he was a leader of the Assyrian party; and he placed Ashkelon under a Jewish leader, Zedekiah.[4]

SENNACHERIB'S CAMPAIN IN THE WEST

While these things were taking place in Palestine, Sennacherib was busy in the east.[5] The murder of Sargon had been a signal for revolt for Babylon and Palestine. The new king had first thrown his forces against his nearer

1. Driver, ILT, p. 56.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. (See this thesis, pp. 46-47.
4. Sayce, LTI, p. 62.
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3. Ibid. (See this thesis, pp. 46-47.
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enemies. Then, after he had subdued Babylon, he turned his attention toward the west. He had considered Babylon as the most dangerous of his foes; and while he handed over Babylon to his younger brother, he himself kept the actual control in his own hands.[1] It is interesting to note, in passing, that when his soldiers were fighting Merodach-baladan in the battle at Kish, Sennacherib watched from the safe side of the river.[2] Then, when Merodach-baladan escaped into the swamps, Sennacherib searched five days there for him, and, finding no trace of him, he abandoned the pursuit.[3] When he had turned his attention to the west, he found that a league of Syrian states had been formed "to prevent further encroachments" on the part of Assyria. Chief of the Phoenician cities in the coalition were Tyre and Sidon. Judah, itself, had developed a close affinity to the nations that had comprised the kingdom of David; Ekron recognized Judah's leadership by delivering Padi, her vassal Assyrian king, into the hands of Hezekiah who put him in chains in Jerusalem.[4] Ashdod, which had become a new province in 713 B.C., averred its independence. Likewise, Ashkelon had added the villages around Joppa to her territory. In this preliminary procedure we find that the west was preparing for the next move that Assyria might take.[5] Hezekiah had even hired mercenaries from Arabia.[6] These and the Egyptians

1. Olmstead, HA, p. 284. 2. Ibid, p. 285.
3. Ibid, p. 287. 4. Ibid, p. 297.
5. Ibid, pp. 284-297. (In pt.) 6. Ibid, p. 297.

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3. Ibid, p. 287. 4. Ibid, p. 297.
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were to help Philistia.[1]

ADVANCE OF ASSYRIA

The advance of Assyria was irresistible.[2] The kings had gone out to battle, but the battle was more than a match for them. It had been something like an annual occurrence for the kings to go forth to battle. Now they were prepared in Palestine, as they themselves thought, to meet their common foe, Assyria. Palestine, therefore, was looking to see what the next move of Assyria might be. Merodach-baladan had been quelled in his attempts.[3] It was not to be long before Sennacherib would go to the west.[4] The Assyrian army advanced westward and swept everything in its wake. Phoenicia was an easy victim;[5] the Philistines were next to surrender; them came the submission of Ashkelon and Ekron. With monotonous regularity, city after city was taken,[6] until the Assyrian army was nigh unto the gates of Jerusalem. At this juncture, Sennacherib was taken from his main course by the disturbing news that Pharaoh was advancing from Egypt to meet him.[7] Up to and until that time, as we have stated, he had been making rapid progress toward Jerusalem. In the words of Isaiah we recognize this:[8]

> "He is come to Aiath, he has passed through Migron; at Michmash he layeth up his baggage: they are gone over the pass: they have taken up their lodging at Geba; Ramah trembleth; Gibeah of Saul is fled. Cry aloud with thy voice, O daughter of Gallim; hearken, O Laishah! O thou poor Anathoth. Madmenah is a fugitive; the inhabitants of Gebim gather themselves to flee."

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1. Short, IDPI, p.73.
2. Kent, KP, p. 178.
3. Short, IDPI, p.73.
4. Short, IDPI, p. 73.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid, p. 74.
7. Smith, PT, p. 94.
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4. Short, IDPI, p. 73.
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Just before Sennacherib had reached Jerusalem, the advance of the Assyrian army was halted by rumors that the Egyptian army was advancing to meet the Assyrian.

SENNACHERIB'S PROGRESS DELAYED

Without waiting for further developments, Sennacherib left part of his army near Jerusalem in the charge of Rabshakeh and, with the rest of the army, went to meet the Egyptians. The people of Jerusalem were over-joyed at the time because Egypt had sent forth its army to help them;[1] but Isaiah rebuked the people for their folly, and predicted the fate of the Egyptians:[2]

> "Rejoice not, O Philistia, all of thee, because the rod that smote thee is broken: for out of the serpents root shall come forth a basilisk, and his fruit shall be a fiery flying serpent."

It did not take long for this prediction to come true; and the people who had looked upon Egypt as the hero of the hour found that they were sadly disappointed. The king, Sennacherib, had a decisive success over Taharka[3] at the border of Egypt, and, as victor, soon returned to continue his campaign against Jerusalem. The Egyptians had been scattered, forty-six towns of Judah had been taken, and the enemy, with merciless, cruel, and barbarous warfare,[4] concentrated attention on the most important center of all Palestine, Jerusalem.

While Sennacherib was preparing to lay siege to Jerusalem, the Jews were busy inspecting the walls and

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closing up the breaches.[1] They also strengthened the citadel:[2]

> "And when Hezekiah saw that Sennacherib was come, and that he had purposed to fight against Jerusalem, he took counsel with his princes and his mighty men to stop the waters of the fountains which were without the city: and they helped him. So there was gathered much people together, and they stopped all the fountains, and the brook that flowed through the midst of the land, saying, Why should the kings of Assyria come, and find much water? And he took courage, and built up the wall that was broken down, and raised it up to the towers, and the other wall without, and strengthened Millo in the city of David, and made weapons in abundance."

Along with this defense, other measures were taken. The army was reorganized,[3] and speeches were made to give morale and courage to the people:[4]

> " And he set captains of war over the people, and gathered them together to him in the broad place at the gate of the city, and spake comfortably to them, saying, Be strong and of good courage, be not afraid nor dismayed for the king of Assyria, nor for all the multitude that is with him: for there is a greater with us than with him: with him is an arm of flesh; but with us is Jehovah our God to help us, and to fight our battles. And the people rested themselves upon the words of Hezekiah, king of Judah."

In the preparation, however, there was a neglect on the part of the people to return to Yahweh in humiliation and repentence.[5] Isaiah had been vindicated in his prophecy against the alliance with Egypt,[6] and the people had started to turn their attention to him; but the moral defects in the lives of the Jews made them disposed to look to human aid as a solution to their problem instead of relying on God.

PREPARATION IN JERUSALEM

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1. Short, IDPI, p. 76.
2. 2 Chron. 32:1-5.
3. Short, IDPI, p. 77.
4. 2 Chron. 32:6-8.
5. Short, IDPI, p. 77.
6. Smith, PT, p. 92.

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Sennacherib did not approach Jerusalem by the route that Isaiah had imagined he would come. Instead of

SENNACHERIS'S SEIGE OF JERUSALEM

coming upon Judah and Jerusalem from the north, he took the safer route past the south-east of Carmel, and into the Philistine country.[1] From Lachish on the south-west the Rabshakeh appeared before Jerusalem with a great force.[2] Hezekiah was forced to surrender Padi to the Assyrian king.[3] At the same time the entire region of Judah was in great danger. Forty-six cities had been taken, and more than 200,000 of the inhabitants of Judah were carried off as spoil.[4] Judah had suffered a considerable catastrophe. Then, in the meantime, Jerusalem was being blockaded. Thereupon Hezekiah made an offer of submission to Sennacherib.[5] He sent ambassadors to the Assyrian camp, confessing that he had offended, and promised to give the Assyrian the allegiance due him. A gift of 30 talents of gold and 800 talents of silver, together with servants and maidens from the palace, Hezekiah sent to him. But Sennacherib was not satisfied.[6] The account in Kings shows the sequence of events as follows:[7]

> "Now in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah did Sennacherib king of Assyria come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them. And Hezekiah king of Judah sent to the king of Assyria to Lachish, saying, I have offended; return from me: that which thou puttest on me will I bear. And the king of Assyria appointed unto Hezekiah king of Judah three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold. And

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1. Driver, ILT, p. 73.
2. Ibid.
3. Sayce, LTI, p. 62.
4. Driver, ILT, p. 73.
5. Short, IDPI, p. 80.
6. Ibid, p. 81.
7. 2 Kings 18:13-16.

Sennacherib did not approach Jerusalem by the route that Isaiah had imagined he would come. Instead of coming upon Judah and Jerusalem from the north, he took the safer route past the south-east of Carmel, and into the Philistine country.[1] From Lachish on the south-west the Rabshakeh appeared before Jerusalem with a great force.[2] Hezekiah was forced to surrender Padi to the Assyrian king.[3] At the same time the entire region of Judah was in great danger. Forty-six cities had been taken, and more than 200,000 of the inhabitants of Judah were carried off as spoil.[4] Judah had suffered a considerable catastrophe. Then, in the meantime, Jerusalem was being blockaded. Thereupon Hezekiah made an offer of submission to Sennacherib.[5] He sent ambassadors to the Assyrian camp, confessing that he had offended, and promised to give the Assyrian the allegiance due him. A gift of 30 talents of gold and 800 talents of silver, together with servants and maidens from the palace, [illegible] Hezekiah sent to him. But Sennacherib was not satisfied.[6] The account in Kings shows the sequence of events as follows:[7]

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> Hezekiah gave him all the silver that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the kings house. At that time did Hezekiah cut off the gold from the doors of the temple of the Lord, and from the pillars which Hezekiah king of Judah had overlaid, and gave it to the king of Assyria."

Sennacherib was not at all satisfied. He had planned to besiege Jerusalem, and this he would do. Therefore he terrified Hezekiah and all of Jerusalem with his threats:[1.]

> "And the king of Assyria sent Tartan and Rabsaris and Rabshakeh from Lachish to king Hezekiah with a great army unto Jerusalem. And they went up and came to Jerusalem. And when they were come up, they came and stood by the conduit of the upper pool, which is in the highway of the fuller's field. And when they had called to the king, there came out to them Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, which was over the household, and Shebna the scribe, and Joah the son of Asaph the recorder."

The Rabshakeh, it appears, was the first to speak. He wanted to know why the Jews were so unwilling to make a peaceable surrender of themselves and Jerusalem. Moreover he spoke with a loud voice and in the Hebrew language so that all the people of Jerusalem might hear him. He said that if they were putting their trust in Pharoah of Egypt their trust was in "a bruising reed"[2.] which would bring utter destruction upon them. If, on the other hand, they trusted in the Lord their God, he claimed that they had offended their God by taking away the high places, and that for this reason their trust was in vain.[3.] In fact he even went so far as to claim that the Lord had sent him to destroy the land.[4.] The Jewish ambassadors tried to persuade the Rabshakeh

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1. 2 Kings 18:17-18.
2. 2 Kings 18:21.
3. 2 Kings 18:22.
4. 2 Kings 18:25.

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to speak to them in the Syrian language instead of the Hebrew, for the people were greatly troubled by the words of the Assyrian. Rabshakeh, however, spoke even more vehemently against Jerusalem, and he made even greater threats so that the people could hear and understand.[1] He told the people that Hezekiah had deceived them when he told them that the Lord would deliver them. Rabshakeh said:"Hearken not unto Hezekiah when he persuadeth you, saying, The Lord will deliver us. Hath any of the gods of the nations ever delivered his land out of the hand of the king of Assyria?"[2] But the people did not answer him, for the king had said that they should hold their peace. The ambassadors returned to Hezekiah and told him the words of the Assyrian. This troubled Hezekiah very much; but Isaiah came onto the scene and saved the day. In his trouble Hezekiah had sent for Isaiah. Isaiah sent back to the king words of comfort:[3]

> "And Isaiah said unto them, Thus shall ye say to your master (Hezekiah), Thus saith the Lord, Be not afraid of the words that thou hast heard, wherewith the servants of the king of Assyria have blasphemed me. Behold, I will put a spirit in him, and he shall hear a rumor, and shall return to his own land; and I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own land."

When Rabshakeh saw that his message had not caused the king of Judah to surrender himself and the city of Jerusalem, he returned and sent a letter to Hezekiah

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1. 2 Kings 18:27-32. 2. 2 Kings 18:32-33.
3. 2 Kings 19:6-7.

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1. 2 Kings 18:27-28.
2. 2 Kings 18:32-35.
3. 2 Kings 19:6-7.

in which he wrote many of the things he had spoken before the people. Then "Hezekiah received the letter from the hand of the messengers, and read it: and Hezekiah went up unto the house of the Lord, and spread it before the Lord."[1] There he prayed that the Lord would save him out of the hand of the Assyrian. The answer to his prayer came in two ways. Isaiah sent a message to him and said that the king of Assyria was to be visited that night and:[2]

> "Therefore thus saith the Lord concerning the king of Assyria, He shall not come unto this city, nor shoot an arrow there, neither shall he come before it with shield, nor cast a mount against it. By the way that he came, by the same shall he return, and he shall not come unto this city, saith the Lord. For I will defend this city, to save it, for mine own sake, and for my servant David's sake."

This prediction was fulfilled in a very remarkable way. The promise was not long in fulfillment:[3]

> "And it came to pass that night, that the angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred four score and five thousand: and when the men arose early in the morning, behold they were all dead corpses. So Sennacherib king of Assyria departed, and went and returned, and dwelt at Nineveh. And it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch, his god, that Adrammelech and Sharezer smote him with the sword: and they escaped into the land of Ararat. And Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead."

This is the Biblical interpretation of the reason for

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1. 2 Kings 19:14. 2. 2 Kings 19:32-34.
3. 2 Kings 19:35-37.

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1. 2 Kings 19:14.
2. 2 Kings 19:32-34.
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Sennacherib's sudden retreat and the miraculous deliverance of Jerusalem. There are other interpretations given, also, by historians and other interpreters.

SENNACHERIB'S SUDDEN RETREAT

The records of Assyria are blank here as they are in other defeats. It was not the will of the Assyrian that the negative aspects of the events in the Assyrian kingdom should be registered. It is thought to have been one of the greatest disasters in history. There has been found an Egyptian story which states that mice gnawed at the bow-strings of the Assyrians. This is another way of saying that a bubonic plague broke out in the Assyrian camp.[1] Breasted states:"Before Sennacherib could take Jerusalem, the plague infested winds from the malarial shores of the eastern delta had scattered death among his troops. This overwhelming catastrophe, together with disquieting news from Babylon, forced him hastily to retire to Nineveh, thus bringing to Jerusalem the deliverance promised by Isaiah, an event in which pious tradition afterward saw the destroying angel of the Lord."[2] Still others interpret the destruction as due to a pneumonia plague, cholera, or simoom. At any rate there was a high mortality, and 185,000 died. This was a deliverance for Egypt as well as for Jerusalem. The Egyptians, therefore, erected a statue of Sethon at Memphis to commemorate the occasion. In the one hand of the statue was placed a mouse; and on the statue this inscription appeared:[3]

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"Whosoever looks at me, let him fear the gods."[1] Isaiah, however, had looked upon Assyria as an instrument in the hands of God; then when this instrument, "The rod of Jehovah's anger" had served it's purpose for Yahweh, the Assyrian would be destroyed.[2] Therefore Isaiah said:

> "The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely as I have thought, so shall it come to pass: and as I have purposed, so shall it stand: that I will break the Assyrian in my hand, and upon my mountains tread him under foot: then shall his yoke depart from off them, and his burden depart from off their shoulder."

Assyria had been used for a purpose. That purpose was to serve Yahweh, even though it did not know Him.

INDEPENDENCE OF JERUSALEM

The west was automatically given it's independence. A great victory had been won. Yahweh was vindicated, and the Jews were willing to bow in humble submission to Him. Moreover, the predictions of Isaiah had actually found a place for him in the hearts of the people, and they were willing to obey his words, and place their faith in God. This was indeed an indication that the people of Jerusalem were to have an opportunity to prepare themselves for the years of emergency that lay before them. For nearly a hundred years they were to be granted the privilege of consolidating their little nation, so that whatever the next move might be on the part of the foreign nations, they could retain their unity. Even though exile came, they would remain a people.

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The accounts of Sennacherib have their parallels in 2 Kings and Isaiah. The following inscription has it's parallels in 2 Kings 18, 19, and Isaiah 36 and 37:[1]

"Zedekiah, king of Ashkelon, who had not submitted to my yoke, the gods of the house of his fathers, himself, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brothers, the seed of the house of his father I took away and brought him to Assyria...The kings of Egypt...they summoned to their aid. In the environs of Eltekeh the battle array was drawn up before me...In the might of Ashur,my lord, I fought with them and accomplished their defeat...I approached Ekron. The governors and princes who had committed sin I killed and on stakes round about the city I hung their bodies...I brought Padi, their king, out of the midst of Jerusalem, (where Hezekiah had been keeping him as prisoner), and on the throne of dominion I placed, and imposed the tribute of my overlordship upon him.

As to Hezekiah, the Judean, who had not submitted to my yoke, 46 Of his strongholds, fortified cities, and smaller cities of their environs without number, with the onset of battering rams and the attack of engines, mines, breaches, and axes, I besieged, I captured. 200,150 people, small and great, male and female...I brought out and counted as booty. He himself I shut up like a caged bird in Jerusalem, his capital city; I erected beleaguring works against him, and turned back by command every one who came out of his city gate...As to Hezekiah himself, the fear of the luster of my lordship overcame him,and the Urbi and his favorite soldiers, whom he had brought in to strengthen Jerusalem, his capital city, deserted. With thirty talents of gold, 800 talents of silver... all sorts of objects, a heavy treasure; also his daughters, the women of his palace, male and female musicians he sent after me to Nineveh, my capital city, and sent his messenger to present the gift and do homage."

SENNACHERIB'S ACCOUNTS

According to Kings Hezekiah sent his present to Lachish,[2] and not to Nineveh, although it was to Nineveh that his present was later taken. Moreover the account in Kings claims that it was three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold.[3]

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1. Barton, AB, p. 471.
   Sayce, LTI, pp. 93-94.
   Davis, RAH, pp. 23-24.
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This difference, however, in the two accounts concerning the number of talents of silver is due to two different standards of reckoning.[1] In this account the haughty pride of the Assyrian can readily be seen, both in the inscription itself, and in the omissions that are so noticeable because of the conspicuous gap that is so very evident in the inscription. It was the manner of Sennacherib to exalt his triumphs and to omit any of his defeats. Why, for example, does he not tell what happened to Hezekiah after he had "shut him up like a bird in a cage" in Jerusalem? The omission of such an important item can mean nothing more than that the king of Assyria was frustrated in his attempt to capture Jerusalem. The remembrance of such a defeat, after all his triumphs, was enough to cause the proud monarch to lose all his pride.

VERIFICATION OF KINGS THROUGH THE INSCRIPTIONS OF SENNACHERIB

In most respects, and especially when we consider that there are apparent omissions in the inscriptions of Sennacherib, the inscriptions of Sennacherib agree with the account in 2 Kings and Isaiah.(Isaiah's account, as we have stated, is taken from the account in 2 Kings where it originally belongs.[2]) These inscriptions, therefore, throw light on the Biblical passages, and serve as a means of verifying them in the historical trustworthiness of the book of Kings.

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SECTION THREE: SUMMARY STATEMENT.

In the age of Isaiah the first world power arose and began to decline. It was the Assyrian nation.

ASSYRIA IN THE DAYS OF ISAIAH

Four great kings, whose influence was felt throughout the world of antiquity, came into contact with Palestine, and left an imprint upon Judah. These kings were: Tiglathpileser III, Shalmaneser V, Sargon II, and Sennacherib. Tiglathpileser made Assyria into the first world empire of which we have any record. By this I mean that he formed a nation which was not easily shaken after his death. The nation continued because it was not founded around Tiglathpileser, but as an independent entity which the ruler stabilized. Each succeeding king did not have to reconquer the whole empire over again after Tiglathpileser had set it up. By means of his severe discipline he had given a precedent which was a formidable factor in the continuation of the empire. After the military aggression had ceased to hold first place in the scheme of the nation and it's conquered peoples, the lands were consolidated, a civil law was subscribed and adhered to, and there was "one law and government throughout the world, one supreme monarch to obey, one supreme deity: Ashur, the national god of Assyria, to revere."[1] No power could stand on earth before this aggressive king. In two campaigns did Tiglath-

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1. Sayce, LTI, pp. 41-42.

pileser come into contact with Israel and Judah: the first, at the beginning of his reign, or rather in 738 B.C., and the second, in the campaign against the Syro-Ephraimitish coalition in 734 B.C. In his eighteen years of ruling,(745-727 B.C.), he had raised Assyria from it's impotent and worthless condition to be the first world empire of the ancient world.[1] He had organized an empire which was not absolutely dependent on one man, but consolidated on the basis of national prestige. Under Shalmaneser the strength of this empire was tested by the Palestinians. Shalmaneser, therefore, came into the land of Palestine in 725 B.C. when it's inhabitants failed to pay him the tribute. He overran the entire country and made terms of peace. Hoshea of Israel, however, shut himself up in Samaria, hoping that aid would come to him from Egypt. No help came. But Shalmaneser laid siege to the city of Samaria, and devastated the country-side far and wide. Then, before the city had surrendered, Shalmaneser died, and a more aggressive leader seized the throne. This new leader took for himself the name, Sargon. He struck the fatal blow against Samaria which fell in 722 B.C. The entire northern kingdom was brought to an end, and the race of Samaritans arose. During this king's reign, in 711 B.C., another insurrection occurred in the west, and also in the east. Merodach-

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baladan of Babylonia plotted against Assyria, and allied himself in a coalition with Palestine and Egypt in a combined effort to overthrow Assyria. Even Hezekiah was drawn into this concerted action. But Sargon himself was on duty. He struck before the enemy had time to unite forces. He invaded the land of Palestine, and Ashdod, a center of Assyrian opposition, was made the center of attack. Edom and Moab were brought into subjection, while the Ethiopian Pharaoh lurked in the shadows. The city of Ashdod was taken and burned to the ground. Judah subjected itself to Sargon. The plan of Merodach-baladan had failed; and the Babylonian fled, leaving the city of Babylonia in the hands of the Assyrians. A few years later he was murdered, and Sennacherib, his son, became king (705 B.C.). This new king had to restore the Assyrian authority over Babylon. This he did in 703 B.C. The Palestinian states also revolted. For three years Sennacherib did not move against them. But after he had subdued his nearest foe, Babylon, he turned his attention toward the west. There he found that a league of Syrian states had been formed to prevent further Assyrian encroachments upon the land. Then the Assyrian army went westward in 701 B.C. and swept everything before it. Phoenicia was taken first; the Philistines were next to surrender; Ashkelon and Ekron were forced to submit to Sennacherib; and with monotonous regularity

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city after city in Judah were taken, until the Assyrian army was nigh unto Jerusalem. Just before Sennacherib had reached Jerusalem he heard that the army from Egypt was approaching to meet him. Without waiting for further developments, Sennacherib went to meet the Egyptians. He won a decisive success over Taharkah and the Egyptian army which Shabaka, Pharoah of Egypt, had sent to help the inhabitants of Palestine. Meanwhile the people of Jerusalem made preparations for the siege that inevitably was at hand. Sennacherib continued to plunder the cities and towns of Judah. Then from Lachish he appeared before Jerusalem with a great force. Jerusalem was blockaded. Hezekiah sent tribute and a present to him, but Sennacherib was not satisfied. He would not be satisfied with less than the surrender and sacking of Jerusalem. The Assyrian sent messengers to disturb the people, and he sent a letter to Hezekiah the king. With many threats did Sennacherib threaten Hezekiah and Jerusalem. In the meantime Isaiah came upon the scene and strengthened Hezekiah. Isaiah said that Jerusalem would be delivered out of the hand of the king of Assyria. The prediction was not long in it's fulfillment. That night Sennacherib was defeated. There was a great deliverance, and Jerusalem was saved. For more than a hundred years afterward Jerusalem continued to enjoy it's independence. This prepared the Jews to strengthen themselves in national unity.

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CHAPTER IV: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS OF ISAIAH ON THEIR EGYPTIAN-ASSYRIAN BACKGROUND.

INTRODUCTION

All developments are more or less connected with the environmental influences which affect or modify their growth. This is especially true in the development of the religious concepts of Isaiah. The historical developments, out of which the religious concepts of this prophet evolved, have been given in the former chapters in detailed form. It is the purpose of the writer, in this chapter, to trace the development of five of Isaiah's concepts: all of which were influenced by these political events in Egypt and Assyria, especially where they involved the land of Israel and Judah.

CONCEPTS

The concepts which shall here be discussed are: The Doctrine of the Remnant; The concept of Faith and Loyalty; The Messianic Hope; The Omnipotence of Yahweh; and the Doctrine, or Concept of the Inviolability of Jerusalem. We shall develop each of these concepts topically and separately. In so far as it is possible, the chronological sequence of their development will be followed. Under the topic, The Omnipotence of Yahweh, it is to be understood that this includes the idea of divine intervention as well as divine power.

SECTION ONE: THE DOCTRINE OF THE REMNANT.

The doctrine of the remnant was not a new concept, conceived for the first time by Isaiah, but the way

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTION OF ISAIAH TO CONCEPT

in which this doctrine was developed by Isaiah shows that he contributed much to the ideas about the remnant that already existed. It became "the most original contribution he made to the religious thought of the world."[1] This idea of a remnant was mentioned by Amos, but for Amos the remnant consisted of a few scraps: two legs and a piece of an ear. These almost insignificant portions were as though they had been taken out of the mouth of the lion. The remnant was therefore considered negligible and of little account in the thought of Amos. He says: "As the shepherd rescueth out of the mouth of the lion two legs, or a piece of an ear; so shall the children of Israel be rescued."[2] But Isaiah rises above this pessimistic attitude, and declares that all shall not be lost. "To Isaiah the remnant is of surpassing value...for in it lies the hope of the future: the means by which God is going to establish His Kingdom on earth."[3]

ORIGIN WITH ISAIAH

It is evident that from the very beginning of his ministry Isaiah believed that there would be a remnant which should inhabit the land after the destruction which he preached had taken

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place. This is first portrayed in the message which he received when he was called by Jehovah to bear a message to the people. The message was one of judgment, but there would still be a remnant of the nation:[1]

> "Then said I, Lord, how long? And He answered, Until cities be waste without inhabitant, and houses without man, and the land become utterly waste, And the Lord have removed men far away, and the forsaken places be many in the midst of the land. And if there be yet a tenth in it, it shall again be eaten up: as a terebinth, and as an oak, whose stock remaineth, when they are felled; so the holy seed is the stock thereof."

Even if we accept the interpretation that this passage was written during the later years of his life, yet it gives the view of the remnant as he held it before his interview with Ahaz at the conduit of the upper pool. Here he still holds to the ideal of the supremacy of Israel over all nations:"The holy seed is the stock thereof." The holy seed bore fruit of itself, and the fruit would continue to remain.[2] This was the first way in which Isaiah thought of the remnant, as far as can be discerned. The other passages show a change in his conception due to the circumstances that prevailed. This first status of Isaiah's conception of the remnant, as we see it, recognized the holy seed as the stock. This suggests that, although Israel is represented by the prophet as having the supremacy over all nations, still "Israel is

ISAIAH'S FIRST IDEA OF THE REMNANT

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to be purged until nothing but the pure gold from the crucible, or the stump of the terebinth that has been felled to the earth, is left."[1] It was the faith of Isaiah that led him to declare that some of the people, though not all of them, would be saved;[2] and it was the holiness of God, as the prophet beheld Him, that impressed upon the mind of Isaiah that uncleanliness and impurity could not remain in the presence of the Lord, but needed to be purged. To bring about this change Isaiah believed that the "only fire that could cleanse the unholy nation was the fire of judgment, which was to consume the base and worthless elements of the state till only the indestructible remnant, the holy seed, remained."[3] The salvation of this remnant is to be brought about on the soil of Judah, and the "continuity of the national history"[4] is not to be absolutely broken. There is no suggestion here that an exile shall take place. The bare survival of a remnant of his people remain after the judgment has passed over them.[5] This remnant is, however, a potent minority,[6] purged and disciplined to work as a creative neucleus in a great work that must be accomplished. It is here to be noted that, although Isaiah is here portrayed as a prophet of judgment, "he is not a prophet of despair. Present corruption makes destruction inevitable, but from the judgment a

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1. Gordon, POT, p. 92.
2. Knudson, PMI, p. 50. Knudson, RTOT, p. 361.
3. Skinner, I, pp. liii-liii.
4. Skinner, I, pp. lvii-lviii.
5. Smith, BI, pp. 31-32. Buttenweiser, PI, p. 259.
6. Leslie, "Prophets."(Notes.)

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redeemed and purified remnant will emerge, ready to enter into it's glorious mission in the world.[1] Although the punishment must come there is a "hope of restoration after the punishment.[2]" "A remnant shall return.[3]" These are the "survivors of the judgment: a remnant that shall have been converted.[4]" In spite of, or more likely, on account of the catastrophe "a minority will turn to God. The destruction will not be total. There will always be a few who will repent and be healed.[5]" Most of them will be destroyed, for they will not repent; but a remnant will survive.

IDEA OF REMNANT AS AFFECTED BY AHAZ AND ASSYRIA

Isaiah showed his belief in his doctrine by naming his first son "Shear-jashub":"A remnant shall return.[6]" This was the way the prophet endeavored to impress on the minds of the people his conception about the remnant. It was the way his son preached. As a matter of fact, the whole family preached: the name Isaiah signified,"Jehovah is our salvation"; Shear-jashub, "a remnant shall return", or "shall be converted"; the wife was called "the prophetess"; and the other son, Maher-shalal-hash-baz signified,"Swift spoil, speedy prey." All of them were signs and portents of the salvation Jehovah was soon to work for Judah.[7] The boy Shear-jashub was also a daily reminder to his father.

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1. Eiselen, PBOT, p. 205.
2. Peritz, OTH, p. 200.
3. Isaiah 10:21.
4. Buttenweiser, PI, p. 259.
5. Jefferson, CII, p. 122.
6. Addis, HREJ, p. 177.
7. Gordon, FI, p. 72.
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From this time on, Isaiah's doctrine concerning the remnant took on itself a new meaning. "Isaiah's

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THE COMMUNITY OF TRUE RELIGION

The form that this conception took, when it was dissociated from all political forms and intrigues, marks another decided advance in the development of this religious concept of Isaiah. Then and there the concept of the remnant gave birth to the concept of the church, and the protestant ideal of church government. This makes the doctrine of the remnant, as developed by Isaiah in the period when the king of Judah had entered into an illegal alliance with Assyria instead of a true alliance with God, a doctrine of profound significance for all times. The small "mustard seed" that Isaiah sowed in his day was a seed smaller than all the herbs of the field of activity, but it grew, and

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is continuing to grow, so that all who so desire may find shelter in it's branches. In the words of W. Robertson Smith[1] we find an excellent expression of the importance of the remnant as it continued to grow through the influence of Isaiah and his disciples:

> "The formation of this little community was a new thing in the history of religion. Till then no one had dreamed of a fellowship of faith dissociated from all national forms, maintained without the exercise of ritual services, bound together by faith in the divine word alone. It was the birth of a new era in the Old Testament religion, for it was the birth of the conception of the Church, the first step in the emancipation of spiritual religion from the forms of political life: a step not less significant that all it's consequences were seen till centuries had passed away. The community of true religion and the political community of Israel had never before been separated even in thought; now they stood side by side, conscious of their mutual antagonism, and never again fully to fall back into their old identity."

The remnant had returned. It was now preparing itself to save posterity.

THE SPIRITUAL REMNANT

This leads naturally to the spiritual character of the remnant as it appears in the later days of Isaiah's sojourn on the earth. This spiritual remnant has just been mentioned in the above passage quoted from W.R.Smith. This, however, is suggestive of the great transformation that was taking place: the development of this concept of Isaiah. The one thing that needed to take place, even after Isaiah had broken away from the state to give his attention to his particular community of souls who were willing to

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the perfect kingdom of the Lord."[1]

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT AS PORTRAYED IN ISAIANIC PASSAGES

The growth of the concept of the remnant is well recognized in passages that occur in the book of Isaiah. The first two of these passages of scripture are concerned with the purging of Jerusalem. The remnant is to be holy:[2]

> "Therefore saith the Lord, the Lord of hosts, the mighty One of Israel, Ah, I will ease me of mine adversaries, and avenge me of mine enemies: And I will turn my hand upon thee, and thoroughly purge away thy dross, and will take away all thy tin: And I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning: afterward thou shalt be called, The city of righteousness, the faithful city. Zion shall be redeemed with judgment, and her converts with righteousness."

Then shall the city of habitation be made beautiful and glorious for the remnant:[3]

> "In that day shall the branch of the Lord be beautiful and glorious, and the fruit of the land shall be excellent and comely for them that are escaped of Israel. And it shall come to pass, that he that is left in Zion, and he that remaineth in Jerusalem, shall be called holy, even everyone that is written among the living in Jerusalem: When the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion, and shall have purged the blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof by the spirit of judgment, and by the spirit of burning."

In the next two passages, Assyria and Egypt are mentioned. The remnant are to come from Assyria and Egypt. In the passages quoted above there is no reference to this. In them the people are residing in Jerusalem all the time.

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1. Skinner, I, p. lvi. 2. Isaiah 1:24-27.
3. Isaiah 4:2-4.

the perfect kingdom of the Lord."[1]

The growth of the concept of the remnant is well recognized in passages that occur in the book of Isaiah. The first two of these passages of scripture are concerned with the purging of Jerusalem. The remnant is to be holy:[2]

"Therefore saith the Lord, the Lord of hosts, the mighty One of Israel, Ah, I will ease me of mine adversaries, and avenge me of mine enemies: And I will turn my hand upon thee, and thoroughly purge away thy dross, and will take away all thy tin: And I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning: afterward thou shalt be called, The city of righteousness, the faithful city, Zion shall be redeemed with judgment, and her converts with righteousness."

Then shall the city of habitation be made beautiful and glorious for the remnant:[3]

"In that day shall the branch of the Lord be beautiful and glorious, and the fruit of the land shall be excellent and comely for them that are escaped of Israel. And it shall come to pass, that he that is left in Zion, and he that remaineth in Jerusalem, shall be called holy, even everyone that is written among the living in Jerusalem: When the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion, and shall have purged the blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof by the spirit of judgment, and by the spirit of burning."

In the next two passages, Assyria and Egypt are mentioned. The remnant are to come from Assyria and Egypt. In the passages quoted above there is no reference to this. In them the people are residing in Jerusalem all the time.

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1. Skinner, I, p. lvi. 2. Isaiah 1:24-27.
3. Isaiah 4:2-4.

This is in accord with the first thought that Isaiah had concerning the remnant. The purging was to take place in the land of Judah, and in Jerusalem. The following scripture references, however, point to an inference that the prophet is led to believe that exile is inevitable, because Judah has been entering into international alliances and intrigues with Assyria and Egypt. The prophet, never-the-less, believes that there shall be a remnant who shall return:[1]

> "And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people, which shall remain, from Assyria, and from Egypt, and from Pathros, and from Cush, and from Elam, and from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the islands of the sea. And he shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth."

This remnant, also, shall return with strength and power, and by the assistance of the nation from which it comes.[2]

> "And there shall be an highway for the remnant of the people which shall remain, from Assyria; like as there was to Israel in the day that he came up out of the land of Egypt."

Judah was laid waste, the country burned with fire, and Zion was pictured as a besieged city: this was the picture that Isaiah saw for the future of Jerusalem and Judah. But he saw more than this. A small remnant had been left, and the prophet writes:[3]

> "Except the Lord of hosts had left unto us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom, we should have been as Gomorrah."

In this very small remnant lay the hope of future Judah.

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1. Isaiah 11:10-12. 2. Isaiah 11:16.
3. Isaiah 1:9.

This remnant would not put it's trust in any nation, but in God, and righteousness was to reign supreme in it's midst:[1]

> "And it shall come to pass in that day, that the remnant of Israel, and they that are escaped of the house of Jacob, shall no more again stay upon him that smote them; but shall stay upon the Lord, the Holy One of Israel, in truth. A Remnant shall return, even the remnant of Jacob, unto the mighty God. For though thy people Israel be as the sand of the sea, only a remnant of them shall return: a consumption is determined, overflowing with righteousness."

Then shall the glory of the Lord abide upon this remnant:[2]

> "In that day shall the Lord of hosts be for a crown of glory, and for a diadem of beauty, unto the residue of his people."

In these passages may be seen the growth of Isaiah's concept, or doctrine, of the remnant.

In the first years of his ministry, Isaiah had believed that Israel as a nation would be the remnant of the peoples of the whole earth. This remnant was to be the means of perpetuating the teaching of the knowledge of the Lord. Then came a crucial moment in the nation's history when the king, Ahaz of Judah, betrayed his nation into the hands of the king of Assyria. From that time on, Isaiah gave his teachings to the trust of his group of disciples who embodied his concept of the remnant. It remained for later years to cause the concept of the remnant to develop into it's most ethical and glorious manifestation: a spiritual community and kingdom, "crowned" with the glory and beauty of God.

SUMMARY

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1. Isaiah 10:20-23. 2. Isaiah 28:5.

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SECTION TWO: THE CONCEPT OF FAITH AND LOYALTY.

FAITH: THE CHARACTERISTIC CONCEPT

The concept of faith is the outstanding concept which characterizes the prophet Isaiah. It was Isaiah who was "the first to formulate the doctrine of Faith."[1] In this doctrine Isaiah called upon king and people alike to believe in God, and trust His righteousness and power.[2] This quiet faith in god as a religious requirement,[3] Isaiah declared, was fundamentally necessary for the stability of the nation, and a "means of tranquility in crucial times."[4] Faith in God, according to this prophet, was a prerequisite condition needed to insure material strength and to safeguard the political, as well as the religious, status of Israel and Judah.[5] For Isaiah, moreover, "trust in God meant for a nation righteous government, conforming with the divine standard of holiness."[6]

ORIGIN AND NATURE OF ISAIAH'S FAITH

The study of Isaiah's concept of faith clearly portrays the fact that it was rooted and had it's inception at the time of his calling, when he "saw God high and lifted up", and heard the seraphim cry to one another and say:"Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory."[7] This religious experience of Isaiah's vision of God coloured all his thought, teaching and work. Also, by means of this vision, Isaiah "discovered that beliefs

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1. Knudson, BLP, p. 125. Knudson, PMI, p. 51.
2. Addis, HREJ, pp. 176-177.
3. Bade, OTLT, p. 183.
4. Peritz, OTH, p. 188.
5. Buttenweiser, PI, p. 269.
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7. Isaiah 6:1-3.

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hinging upon earthly witnesses worked under doubtful or defective conditions.[1] In the mind of the prophet it created absolute confidence in the absolute power of God; therefore mundane policies and temporal alliances could only cause disloyalty and destruction. His faith was in the Lord, and he called Israel, also, to trust in Him:"O Israel, trust in the Lord: for with the Lord there is mercy, and with him is plenteous redemption. And he shall redeem Israel from all his sin.[2]" Although these words are not found in Isaiah, they express his conviction and sentiment. He believed that Israel was Jehovah's people: therefore in Jehovah should they trust. Moreover "his faith was sustained by the fear of the Lord.[3]" He was the "Prophet of Faith.[4]"

FAITH IN YAHWEH: ISRAEL'S SURETY

In "his conception of faith, Isaiah believed that Yahweh was the God of Israel. As such He might be depended upon to look after the interests of His people; and, in turn, He had a right to demand absolute loyalty from those who had entered into a covenant with Him.[5]" It was not to be supposed that when they formed alliances with other nations, therefore, that the people of Judah were loyal to Yahweh. It meant that they were making Yahweh into a subservient deity to the gods of the nations with whom they allied themselves, instead of

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1. Cadman, PI, p. 51.
2. Psalm 130:7.
3. Gordon, FI, p. 72.
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AHAZ AND ASSYRIA VS. ISAIAH'S "FAITH"

It was only a short time after Isaiah had begun to preach his doctrine of "Faith in God" that it was put to a stringent test. Pekah, king of Israel, and Rezin, king of Damascus, threatened to dethrone Ahaz and set up their own king at Jerusalem.[4] Ahaz, therefore, sought the aid of Assyria; for "it was the political policy of Judah, when the country was in danger or oppressed, to seek aid from outside."[5] It is small wonder that Ahaz was in despair; but Isaiah saw no need for the policy that Ahaz was comtemplating. "Ahaz' desperation was Isaiah's opportunity"[6]; at least the prophet seemed to think it was. So Isaiah went to Ahaz, who was inspecting the water supply, and

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6. Hawley, TP, p. 88.

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summoned him to have faith in God. The fickle king trifled with the words of assurance that Isaiah spoke to him; for he was fearful of offending the Lord, God of Israel. Yet he had turned his back on God. Moreover he was anxious that nothing should interfere with his plans.[1] Isaiah told him that he was not to fear the Syro-Ephraimitish coalition, and said to him:"Take heed, and be quiet; fear not neither be fainthearted for the two tails of smoking firebrands...(for) Thus saith the Lord God, It shall not stand, neither shall it come to pass...(but) If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established."[2] (Other renderings of this last verse are:(1)Hawley,"If you are not assured, you cannot be secured;"[3](2)McFayden,"No faith, no fixity;"[4](3)G.A.Smith, "If ye will not have faith, ye shall not have staith;"[5] and (4)Bade,"No confiding, no abiding;"[6]as well as many others). It is here firmly stated that "faith is the condition of salvation. Judah could only be saved by faith in Jehovah. His presence in Jerusalem, typified by the 'waters of Shiloah that go softly'[7], was their only security."[8] If the people should refuse these waters, then Assyria,[9] their help, would prove the cause of their ruin.[9] Isaiah pleaded for faith in Jehovah. "Consequently Isaiah opposed any international policy which hinted at disloyalty to Yahweh. Foreign alliances appeared to the prophet as a

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1. Gordon, FI, p. 67.
2. Isaiah 7:4-9.
3. Hawley, TP, p. 88.
4. Knudson, BLP, p. 151.
5. Knudson, BLP, p. 151.
6. Bade, OTLP, p. 186.
7. Isaiah 8:6.
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ISAIAH AND THE FALL OF SAMARIA

It was in the year 734 B.C. that Judah paid her first tribute to Assyria. It was about that time that Isaiah withdrew from the political sphere and did not again appear to denounce the king or people publicly as a statesman for many years.

1. Eiselen, PBOT, p. 205. 2. Skinner, I, pp. lv-lvi.
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Even when Samaria was destroyed in 721 B.C., there appears to be no evidence that the prophet had anything to say about it. The reason for this is very obvious. The event spoke for the prophet. He had prophesied the destruction of Damascus and Samaria when he spoke to Ahaz at the conduit of the upper pool. But, even though there may be no written evidence about the period when Samaria was destroyed, this does not mean that it had no effect on the faith of Isaiah. This destruction of the northern state verified the prophetic utterance of Isaiah concerning it. It also gave him confidence in his message: a confidence which he would need if, and when, the Assyrian should invade Judah, or lay siege to Jerusalem.

ISAIAH'S "FAITH" VS. HEZEKIAH

In the year 711 B.C., however, Isaiah again came forth to speak to king Hezekiah and the people. This was the period when Hezekiah, king of Judah, appealed to Egypt to help him throw off the yoke of Assyria. A grand alliance was formed, both in the east and in the west: for Merodach-baladan of Babylon was one of the instigators of this alliance. Isaiah again pleaded for a policy of peace and trust. In the midst of great confusion, or intriguing, he pointed to the quiet presence of Jehovah in Jerusalem as his ground of confidence and said:"Thus saith the Lord God, Behold I lay in Zion for a foundation a stone, a

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VS. EGYPT 711 B.C. and 705 B.C., that Isaiah actually had the situation in hand at Jerusalem. It was during this time that an embassage came to Jerusalem to induce Judah to join a league against Assyria. The times were perilous. The Assyrian armies were threatening the west with terror and confusion."Yet Isaiah was not disturbed. He sent the Ethiopian (Egyptian) embassage away with the assurance that he saw no occasion for alarm. 'For thus, he says,'hath Jehovah said unto me, I will be still, and I will look on in my dwelling place, like clear heat in sunshine, like a cloud of dew in the heat of harvest.'[1] This is the divine calm, the eternal calm in the midst of the earth's turmoil."[2] Then Isaiah turned to the Judeans and said:"Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help...but they look not to the Holy One of Israel, neither seek the Lord!...The Egyptians are men,and not God; and their horses flesh, and not spirit: and when the Lord shall stretch out his hand, both he that helpeth shall stumble, and he that is holpen shall fall, and they all shall fail together."[3] Hence the one thing for Judah to do was"to obey the will of God and put herself on His side. His religious conviction of faith was Isaiah's source of political insight. The burden of his message

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ISAIAH'S FAITH AND SENNACHERIB

In the year 705 B.C. Sargon died and his son Sennacherib came to the throne. This was the signal to the western states to revolt. Hezekiah therefore made himself the head of a confederacy of Palestinian states. Isaiah saw the hopelessness of the situation. He believed that the really controlling forces in the universe were spiritual, not material; divine, not human. He warned Hezekiah of the danger which lay before him in choosing the material and human method of gaining his freedom: a method which was both hopeless and fatal. He declared that "hope for Hezekiah and the kingdom could only be found in the living God."[3] But the advice and warning of Isaiah was spurned. He had lost his hold on the king and people. Those who had so willingly listened to him after the disastrous defeat in 711 B.C. could no longer be controlled by the prophet after the new situation arose, and the new king had ascended the throne of Assyria. Then said Isaiah, "Thus said the Lord God, the Holy One of Israel; In returning and rest shall ye be saved; in quietness and confidence shall be your strength."[4] But the people and the king were not willing to obey, even though the Lord was ready to bless and save them.[5]

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THE SIEGE OF JERUSALEM AND ISAIAH'S FAITH

The faith of Isaiah, however, was signally justified when Sennacherib besieged the city of Jerusalem.[1] This occured in 701 B.C. It had been occasioned by the formation of the Palestinian alliance under Hezekiah. It was at this time that the faith of Isaiah, or rather his concept of faith, developed into it's most glorious expression. It was at this time that Hezekiah was troubled and all Jerusalem with him. Sennacherib had invaded Judah, he had taken away much of it's wealth and many of it's inhabitants as spoil. Hezekiah, likewise, had sent him tribute in a vain effort to pacify the mighty Sennacherib. But this simply opened the way for the bold Assyrian. He wanted Jerusalem. It was the one city which both Egypt and Assyria had sought to conguer for many years. He wanted to spoil Jerusalem and carry away it's inhabitants. With words, threats, and plundering of cities of Judah, the Assyrian endeavored to intimidate Hezekiah to cause him to surrender. This Hezekiah would not do; but it did cause him to surrender to God. It caused Hezekiah "to pray before the Lord."[2] This was an opportune time for Isaiah to impress upon the king his concept of faith and loyalty. By means of a prediction of a marvelous deliverance that the Lord should bring to Jerusalem, Isaiah impressed this concept on the mind of

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king and people;[1]

"Then Isaiah sent to Hezekiah, saying, Thus saith the Lord the God of Israel, Whereas thou hast prayed to me against Sennacherib king of Assyria I have heard thee. This is the word that the Lord hath spoken concerning him; The virgin daughter of Zion hath despised thee, and laughed thee to scorn; the daughter of Jerusalem hath shaken her head at thee. Whom hast thou reproached and blasphemed? and against whom hast thou exalted thy voice, and lifted up thine eyes on high? even against the Holy One of Israel...But I know thy sitting down, and thy going out, and thy coming in, and thy raging against me...Therefore thus saith the Lord concerning the king of Assyria, He shall not come unto this city, nor shoot an arrow there, neither shall he come before it with shield, nor cast a mount against it. By the way that he came, by the same shall he return, and he shall not come unto this city, saith the Lord. For I will defend this city, to save it, for mine own sake, and for my servant David's sake."

This is the message which Isaiah, the son of Amoz, sent to Hezekiah. The prediction here given was followed by a marvelous deliverance which the Biblical writer interpreted as a miraculous act and intervention of God. Other writers have given naturalistic interpretations to it, such as those we have already mentioned in connection with the historical treatment of this subject. Whatever the interpretation may be, the fact that Jerusalem was delivered can not be justifiably doubted:[2]

"And it came to pass that night, that the angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand: and when the men arose in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses. So Sennacherib king of Assyria departed, and went and returned, and never came back again to Jerusalem.

Therefore was Jerusalem made an independent city, and Judah

1. 2 Kings 19:20-22,27,& 32-34.
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From the vision in the Temple to the victory over Assyria, the faith of Isaiah transcended the difficulties of life: never for a moment losing it's potency and spiritual aggrandizement. This faith manifested itself

SUMMARY

in different ways. It declared the power and Holiness of God; it arose into ecstacy and proclaimed the inviolability of Zion, or Jerusalem; it was optimistic in the very presence of defeat and shouted; "A remnant shall return;"[2] it looked out into the distant future and saw a new heaven and new earth which should exist in the place of the present order of things, and on the very site of Mount Zion, where the Ideal Ruler would reign in righteousness and his princes with justice; and it remained steady and loyal in the performance of the great task that had to be accomplished day by day in the face of the momentous crises that had to be opposed and mastered. It was Isaiah's faith in God that enabled him to stand fast and remain loyal to God, even when all the state opposed him. But through his steadfastness, the king and people believed. They saw in Isaiah the embodiment of his word:"In confidence,(belief in God), shall be strength."[1]

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SECTION THREE: THE MESSIANIC CONCEPT.

INTRODUCTORY: SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CONCEPT

Among the doctrines and concepts of Isaiah, the one, which has had the widest influence and greatest popular significance in ancient, medieval, and modern times, is the Messianic concept.[1] For ages the Hebrew people had believed in the advent of an ideal age in the future when an ideal King, called the Messiah, would reign upon the throne of David. In the days of Isaiah, three centuries had passed since the monarchy had been established in Israel; yet there had been no king who had measured up to an ideal king: not even David or Solomon. From the time of Isaiah on, the Messianic belief continued to prevail among the people for many centuries. It is, therefore, a concept of profound significance. This concept, however, was greatly developed by Isaiah in the midst of the crucial events which have been fully presented in the historical sections of this thesis.[2] In this portion of our study, we shall trace the development of this concept of Isaiah as it is revealed in the writings of Isaiah which were provoked by the political situation of his day. We will, accordingly, begin with the concept as it was understood by Isaiah and his contemporaries; passing from that to his Immanuel prophecy; continuing with his picture of the ideal King; and advancing to the

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representation of the ideal Messianic Era which is the era in which the glorious transformation takes place in man and all nature because of the righteous influence of the Messiah. Just how much this development was influenced by the political situation, with reference to Assyria and Egypt, awaits to be seen.

1. ZION: THE WORLD'S CAPITAL IN A WARLESS WORLD

The early years of Isaiah's ministry, as well as the closing years of his life's work, were surrounded with the clouds of warfare. At that time Tiglathpileser III, king of Assyria, was building the first world empire. It was during these early years that a young idealist, Isaiah, the son of Amoz, "saw the Lord high and lifted up."[1] He believed that there would come a time, not far in the distance, when Zion, or Jerusalem, would become "the world's religious capital,"[2] and the "center of Yahweh's dominion"[3] over the whole world. Consequently, he believed that the true religion would be spread abroad over the whole earth by means of the moral influence which would go out from Zion.[4] Then "Yahweh would rule the world; war would come to an end; international disputes would be settled by arbitration, and Yahweh Himself would be the Arbiter."[5] Thus Zion should be exalted; and "all peoples of the world were to be united together under the spiritual leadership of Israel."[6] We find this same passage

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in Micah[1]: a revealing fact which shows that both of these citations were doubtless found originally in some common source, and therefore known by Isaiah's contemporaries as well as by the prophet himself. It is as follows:[2]

> "And it shall come to pass in the latter days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be exalted in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it. And many peoples shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge between the nations, and shall arbitrate for many peoples; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

In this prophecy it is declared that: the Lord's house shall be exalted; nations shall make their pilgrimages to it; a spiritual gravitation results as "all nations flow (up) unto it"; the Messiah, or rather Yahweh as the Messiah, will arbitrate among the nations to settle their disputes peaceably; and the whole earth will be transformed. How different that Messianic Era should be, as contrasted with the war-like era of Isaiah's day!

Approximately six years passed between the "Call" of Isaiah, when he held to the concept as set forth

2. IMMANUEL

in the passage quoted above, and his Immanuel prophecy which marks the next step in the development of Isaiah's Messianic concept. The year 734 B.C.

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gave rise to this development. It was at this time that the northern kingdom of Israel and Damascus formed the Syro-Ephraimitish coalition against Ahaz; whereupon Ahaz, in turn, planned to secure the aid of Assyria against the Syro-Ephraimitish. Then Isaiah went to Ahaz in a vain attempt to keep him from carrying out his diabolical purpose. He assured Ahaz, the king of Judah, that the northern nations would not be able to take Jerusalem; he should believe in Yahweh and continue to be established. When the king hesitated, Isaiah told him to ask a sign from God, no matter how difficult it might be, and God would prove Himself. This Ahaz would not do, for he had planned to procure the aid of Assyria and he did not want anything to interfere with his plans. Isaiah said:[1]

> "Ask thee a sign of the Lord thy God; ask it either in the depth, or in the height above. But Ahaz said, I will not ask, neither will I tempt the Lord. And he said, Hear ye now, O house of David; Is it a small thing for you to weary men, that ye will weary my God also? Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign; Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel. Butter and honey shall he eat, that he may know to refuse the evil, and choose the good. For before the child shall know to refuse the evil, and choose the good, the land whose two kings thou abhorrest shall be forsaken."

The Immanuel is an expression of Jehovah's purpose for His people.[2] Ahaz was a worthless king;[3] but Immanuel was the true king who would reign upon the throne,[4] which Ahaz had so abjectly disgraced, and worthily do the will of God.

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ISAIAH'S APPLICATION OF PROPHECY

Isaiah here applied a well known prophecy that was current in his time. Now that such a weakling sat upon the throne of David, it seemed to Isaiah that the time had come when the current prophecy concerning Immanuel would be fulfilled. This was the prophecy:[1]

> " There was current in the time of Isaiah a well known prophecy of the birth of a wonderful child who was destined to bear the name Immanuel, and in his childhood to eat milk and honey(the food of Paradise), and before he shall have learned to distinguish between good and evil, i.e., before he is five years old, to become deliverer of his people, or the bringer of good fortune!"The wonder which Isaiah proposes to Ahaz," continues Gressman,"consists in this, that he announces the fulfillment of this prophecy as a present reality.'The woman whom thou knowest of, O king, is already with child, and after an interval the deliverer Immanuel shall be born, as the old oracle promises!' On such a view the tremendous faith and courage of Isaiah stand out clearly before us. He boldly announces as actual fact and present reality what for the rest of his people lies in an unknown future."

Isaiah dared to say in substance:"This day is this(prophecy) fulfilled in your ears."[2]

THE SUPPOSED IMMANUEL AND MOTHER

There have been a number of conjectures as to whom the prophet referred as the "marriageable young woman" who should become the mother of this Immanuel, and also whom he referred to as the Immanuel. "Some scholars think it is Ahaz' son, and others an unknown son of the prophet."[3] In such a case, it is supposed that Isaiah believed that his wife, "the prophetess", or the

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   Barton, RI, p. 103.
   Gordon, FI, p. 68-69.
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The prophecy of Isaiah did not make Ahaz change his plans. Judah became a vassal state of Assyria , and

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COUNSELLOR marched into Palestine and put down the revolt of the northern kings. Isaiah then changed his international policy in regard to Assyria: for he had said that there should be no alliance with foreign nations. But whereas his prophetic teachings had warned Judah from making an alliance with Assyria, as well as with other nations, now that the alliance had been made, he counselled submission to Assyria, and prophesied

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1. Addis, [illegible], p. 173. 2. Skinner, I, p. viii.
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against alliance with Egypt and other states against Assyria. Isaiah had seen the weakness of Ahaz, and this caused the Messianic concept to develop in an even greater way. The inability of Ahaz,in his political and religious activities, suggested to Isaiah what an ideal counsellor and king would be; for persons and events often suggest their opposites. It did so in relation to the prophet's estimate of Ahaz; for out of this grew a noble prediction and prophecy concerning the Messiah, as Isaiah conceived of Him. We recall, likewise, that at this time Isaiah withdrew from his public career as Prophet-Statesman and devoted himself to his own private meditation and to his own disciples. He saw, as he meditated and taught, that "The day of the old Davidic monarchy had been a stormy and troubled one. It's sun had risen in blood, it's hope had been clouded and tossed about by the tempest. The Assyrian invasion had come upon it. But now at evening there would be peace...The prophet felt no gloom. There was to be a new day: a day of cloudless blue, peace, and joy, and with the perfect bliss of heaven... Therefore the King(Messiah) would be no warlike monarch, like those who had oppressed them, but one filled with the spirit of Jehovah: great in strength, greater in wisdom, and greatest of all in his thoughtful care and love for his people - a counsellor more wonderful than Solomon,

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a friend and father more devoted than David, a Prince of Peace."[1]

The quality of the divine life is dominant in the person of the ideal king here portrayed. He causes the light to shine in the midst of the overhanging darkness that seeks to possess the land. He gives joy and casts aside oppression. "He is described as peaceful and paternal; he will rule in justice and righteousness; the poor and needy will be objects of his special care; and in all his actions he will be guided by a right attitude toward Yahweh and continued reliance upon Him."[2] Into the midst of the darkness of invasion the great light breaks forth upon the land, and joy and victory are brought in with great prosperity.[3] These qualities are clearly expressed by the prophet:[4]

HIS DIVINE CHARACTER

> "The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwelt in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined. Thou hast multiplied the nation, thou hast increased their joy: they joy before thee according to the joy in harvest, as men rejoice when they divide the spoil. For the yoke of his burden, and the staff of his shoulder, the rod of his oppressor thou hast broken as in the day of Midian. For all the armour of the armed man in tumult, and the garments rolled in blood, shall even be for burning, for fuel of fire. For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful Counsellor(or, a wonder of a counsellor), Mighty God(or,Hero-God), everlasting Father(or, Father of eternity), Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and of peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to establish it, and to uphold it with judgment and with righteousness from henceforth even forever. The zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform this."

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1. Gordon, FI, 109-112.
2. Eiselen, PBOT, p. 207.
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It is especially significant to read that last sentence carefully:"The zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform this." It is not by human agency that all these things can be performed; it is by the spirit of God.

The throne of Judah was soon blessed when Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, came to the throne. It was in the early part of his reign that the thoughts of Isaiah tended to move in the direction of the concept of a kingdom of peace. Hezekiah had been religious and obedient to the better ways of righteous government, and up to this time had been subservient to the Assyrian king. Because of this policy Judah was not molested. Would that "in quietness and rest" the country of Judah might continue to find strength! But Isaiah had known the temper of the Jewish kings and people for many years, and he knew that it could not last unless the Messianic era of peace appeared. Nevertheless that era was coming, and the concept of Isaiah was growing to include a more profound understanding of that kingdom. His concept concerning the Messiah and the Messianic Era now grew to immense proportions.

4.THE MESSIAH OF THE KINGDOM OF PEACE

Isaiah now believed that the ideal ruler was a "Prince of Peace who sought first the good of his subjects, and imbuing them with his spirit moved them also to live

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Isaiah now believed that the ideal ruler was a "Prince of Peace who sought first the good of his subjects, and imbuing them with his spirit moved them also to live

in peace with one another."[1] Moreover this ideal king is blessed with an abundant measure of virtues. He is

THE MESSIAH'S VIRTUES AND SPIRIT

intellectual, practical, and religious; for "the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him."[2] In his intellectual capacity he has "the spirit of wisdom and understanding"[3] to discern rightly for his people; and he will use his knowledge discreetly for the right purposes, and in the right way.[4] He is therefore able to secure justice among his citizens. As a king of practical virtues he has "the spirit of counsel and might"[5], or he has the ability to execute the most practical resolutions at the right time. Moreover in the religious sphere of his activity, although this religious element is the basis of all his activities, he has "the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord."[6] Accordingly this new ruler posesses "insight into the Character of Yahweh, which is a reverential attitude that will result in loving obedience."[7] The noble character of this Ruler, in whom righteousness predominates, will have it's power and sway over "the golden age in which nature itself is transformed, and the beasts of the forest are seen quietly pasturing together, their ancient enmities gone, and the spirit of the little child controlling them."[8] Here man is considered as a part of a restored paradise where he and all of nature are redeemed.[9] But the

1. Gordon, FI, p. 111.
2. Isaiah 11:2.
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4. Barton, RI, p. 109.
5. Isaiah 11:2.
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7. Eiselen, PBOT, p. 207.
8. Gordon, FI, p. 112.
9. Rogers in ABC, p. 646.

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7. Kissling, Prom. p. 207.
8. Gordon, Pr. p. 112.
9. Rogers in ABO. p. 668.

creation is redeemed because of the presence of the knowledge of the Lord which the Messiah uses for the good of all the earth.

The new kingdom is represented as a peaceable kingdom which grows out of the stock of Jesse, the father of David, because the kingdom bears the character of it's Ruler. This is the prophecy in the words of Isaiah:[1]

THE CONCEPT SHOWN AS A PROPHECY

> "And there shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse, and a Branch out of his roots shall bear fruit: And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord; And his delight shall be in the fear of the Lord: and he shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither reprove after the hearing of his ears: But with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth: and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked. And righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reigns. And the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together: and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. And the suckling child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the basilisk's den. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

In this kingdom, therefore, the wicked shall not abide; for "with the breath of his mouth shall he slay the wicked."[2] Then shall there be peace and harmony. It is not necessarily the wicked people who shall be destroyed, but wickedness itself. Only those persons who will not depart from their

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THE ADVANCED CONCEPT IN CHAPTER XI

The comparison of the prophecies in Isaiah, as we have them in chapters nine and eleven, shows that Isaiah's Messianic concept in chapter eleven is a development of the concept as it appears in chapter nine. In chapter nine, where it is stated that the earth's destiny is changed by the birth of a child, just as it is in chapter seven, the child is to have a four-fold name; and his government, upon David's throne, is to increase and it's peace shall be endless; it is to be established with judgment and righteousness forever by means of the zeal of the Lord.[2]

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In chapter eleven, however, this former view of his Messianic concept is implied, and something more is said, not only about the person of the Messiah, but also concerning his reign, together with it's effect on the whole creation. In this chapter the Messiah is recognized as a Branch of the house of David, and not simply as one who sits upon the throne of David, as the former chapter relates; the spirit of Jehovah is the source of his wisdom, counsel, and strength of character: concerning this there is no mention in chapter nine, except as it may be inferred from the last sentence of verse seven: "The zeal of the Lord of hosts shall perform this." Furthermore chapter eleven gives a description of the manner in which the Messiah shall judge: by the use of his own faculties; his righteousness and faithfulness, also, bring about equity, godliness, integrity, and peace; the former chapter only says that a peaceful and righteous kingdom will be established. A further advancement, or development, is to be observed in the striking picture of peaceableness and harmony of all nature as Isaiah sees it in the future. This not only shows that a kingdom of peace is to exist, but it describes what this kingdom of peace means. The reason for this transformation, moreover, is not simply because of the "zeal" of the Lord of hosts; it is to take place because: "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."[1] There can be no doubt but that the concept in chapter eleven excels.

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The status of world politics soon became very complicated and tended to divide the people of Judah.

5. THE MESSIAH AS A PROTECTOR

A number of plots were made to combine with Egypt and the Palestinian states against Assyria; all of these Isaiah opposed. But in spite of Isaiah's opposition the plans of Hezekiah and his allies continued to develop. Sennacherib, king of Assyria, learned of the agitation in the west, and after he had put down all opposition in the east, he invaded the land of Palestine. Much of the land was brought into subjection to him again, as we have already mentioned,[1] and he had even attempted to take Jerusalem. Hezekiah and his people had trembled because of Sennacherib: but Isaiah with his faith in Jehovah had strengthened the king and people with his words. Isaiah also had made a prophetic utterance concerning the king of Assyria, and he had declared that Sennacherib would not be able to enter Jerusalem or come near the city to take it: for the Lord would deliver Jerusalem out of the Assyrian's hand. The prophecy was fulfilled, and Isaiah had won a great victory for Jehovah over the hearts and lives of the king and people of Jerusalem. But this victory, likewise, had it's effect on Isaiah and Isaiah's concept concerning the Messiah who should usher in the "Kingdom of the Holy One in which the King and his princes should rule

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in righteousness, and the people would dwell in peace and abiding security."[1] We can recognize in this prophecy that Isaiah includes the princes and aristocracy who should be restored as at the first after the judgment had left a remnant of that upper class;[2] a remnant that had been reformed and purged.[3] "In this prophecy the emphasis is upon the ideal Commonwealth which will then be ushered in. Then there will be a just government, public opinion will be cleansed, and there will be a true aristocracy of character."[4] The Messiah revealed in this prophecy is a protector from the wind and storm, and one who brings relief and refreshment to his people. Every person in his dominion will become the superlative of the kind of man he has wished to be: the stammerer will be able to speak plainly, the vile person will be recognized as vile, and the churl will be found out and recognized , not for his bountiful giving, but because he is a miser. Then shall the true worth of a man be seen, and the liberal shall continue by liberal things which he deviseth;[5] for:

> "Behold, a king shall reign in righteousness, and his princes shall rule in judgment. And a man shall be as an hiding place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest; as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land. And the eyes of them that see shall not be dim, and the ears of them that hear shall hearken. The heart also of the rash shall understand knowledge, and the tongue of the stammerer shall be ready to speak plainly. The vile person shall be no more called liberal, nor the

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1. Gordon, FI, p. 109.
2. Isaiah 1:26.
3. Isaiah 1:26.
4. Rogers in ABC, p. 651.
5. Isaiah 32:1-8.

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This prophecy plainly depicts the fact that Judah has once more gained her independence. It is evident that there exists in Judah at this time a government of the aristocracy: this is likewise revealed in Isaiah's prophecy. Therefore the prophet is limited by his environment and his own political status. But in this aristocratic kingdom of the future "the king and princes rule by the grace of God. The best and wisest govern in the highest interests of the people, and the fundamental principle is righteousness. He aims to foster moral and spiritual growth, teaching people to esteem things at their true value, to live in the spirit of honor, loyalty, and brotherhood with one another. Thus,in a land that is fruitful, men and women are to work together in harmony, winning the purest welfare in the welfare of all."[1] Protected by their King, understanding one another in all transactions, and recognizing the evil and the good without any camouflage, the people are to prosper in the land and live.

We have thus traced the development of Isaiah's Messianic concept from his first prophecy concerning it to the last of the prophecies we have at our command.

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1. Gordon, PI, pp. 115-117.

As a young idealist, when Assyria under Tiglathpileser III was being formed into the first world empire, Isaiah prophesied that there would come a time when Jerusalem

SUMMARY

would become the world's religious capital, at which time war should be made to cease. His concept gained a new element in the period of the Syro-Ephraimitish war when Ahaz became a traitor to his nation, to give it over into the hands of Assyria. Then Isaiah declared to Ahaz that Immanuel would be born in due season and rule over the remnant of the people of Israel and Judah. Immanuel would carry out the purposes of God for His people: for he would be a true king as contrasted with Ahaz. The inability of Ahaz, and the rise of the power of Assyria, further suggested to Isaiah another development in his concept, namely, that of an ideal Counsellor, and Prince of Peace, Who would reign according to the zeal of God. After a few more years had passed, Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, became king, and the obedient nation of Judah began to thrive in it's obedience to Assyria. It was at this juncture that Isaiah prophesied concerning the Messiah and the Kingdom of Peace. This concept continued to develop in such a way that Isaiah began to prophecy that there would come a time when all nature would be transformed. Then in the latter years of his life,when Judah had again become independent,Isaiah's Messianic concept recognized the Messiah as a Protector: He, with an aristocracy of character,ruled an ideal Commonwealth.

As a young idealist, when Assyria under Tiglathpileser III was being formed into the first world empire, Isaiah prophesied that there would come a time when Jerusalem would become the world's religious capital, at which time war should be made to cease. His concept gained a new element in the period of the Syro-Ephraimitish war when Ahaz became a traitor to his nation, to give it over into the hands of Assyria. Then Isaiah declared to Ahaz that Immanuel would be born in due season and rule over the remnant of the people of Israel and Judah. Immanuel would carry out the purposes of God for His people: for he would be a true king as contrasted with Ahaz. The inability of Ahaz, and the rise of the power of Assyria, further suggested to Isaiah another development in his concept, namely, that of an Ideal Counsellor, and Prince of Peace, who would reign according to the seal of God. After a few more years had passed, Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, became king, and the obedient nation of Judah began to thrive in its obedience to Assyria. It was at this juncture that Isaiah prophesied concerning the Messiah and the Kingdom of Peace. This concept continued to develop in such a way that Isaiah began to prophesy that there would come a time when all nature would be transformed. Then in the latter years of his life, when Judah had again become independent, Isaiah's messianic concept recognized the Messiah as a protector: He, with an authoritarian of character, ruled an ideal Commonwealth

SECTION FOUR: THE OMNIPOTENCE OF YAHWEH.

A CONCEPT OF FUNDAMENTAL WORTH

It was the concept of the omnipotence of Yahweh that gave a motivating force to the other concepts which Isaiah cherished and developed. In it there were prevalent the fundamental elements on which Isaiah's concept of faith grew; this was also true of the other concepts of Isaiah. It was his idea of God which lay at the heart of his message and beliefs, and a conception that directed all his life and thought.

ORIGIN OF THIS CONCEPT FOR ISAIAH

Isaiah interpreted God as the holy and perfect One who transcended all creation: there was nothing in the heaven above, nor in the earth beneath, which could equal Yahweh in power and majesty. This concept was awakened in Isaiah at the time of his call when he "saw the Lord high and lifted up"[1], and heard the noble refrain:"Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory"[2]. There was God at the very heart and center of the universe when all the earth was in confusion and disorder. There dwelt the Eternal King in all His holiness in an ideal world: calm and serene in the very midst of all those things about which the earthly inhabitants were troubled and distressed. Isaiah was definitely convinced that in God was the hope of the future of the world, for it was God Whose spiritual power immeasurably surpassed

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1. Isaiah 6:1. 2. Isaiah 6:3.

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ISAIAH'S VIEW OF GOD AND OF GOD'S PURPOSE

To Isaiah God was majestic, holy, and therefore omnipotent. In this majestic conception of God, he viewed God in the light of practical monotheism as a God of Holiness Who, in His omnipotent power, could intervene in the affairs of the world, and order the events of history: to use Assyria as His "rod"[1], and to rule above that power and the power of Egypt[2]; for, in the case of Assyria, after she should have served Yahweh's purpose, her power should be destroyed.[3] Isaiah also emphasized the spiritual nature of God in contrast to the nature of man; for the spiritual power of God immeasurably surpassed any human power. He says:"Now the Egyptians are men and not God; and their horses flesh and not spirit. And when the Lord shall stretch forth his hand, both he that helpeth shall stumble, and he that is holpen shall fall, and they all shall fail together."[4] It was Isaiah's contention that because God was holy, Israel, His people, should be made holy. To bring this transformation about, the people of Israel were to be disciplined by means of the impending judgment and destruction which God had purposed at the hands of Assyria.[5] Assyria and Egypt were to be the positive and negative forces respectively in purging and cleansing all Israel. After this purpose had been fulfilled, the Holy seed of

1. Isaiah 10:5.
2. Isaiah 10:5; 31:3.
3. Isaiah 10:15-19.
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5. Isaiah 10:5,6.

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Israel would remain;[1] and the instrumental nations would be punished.[2]

ASSYRIA AS AN INSTRUMENT OF GOD

Isaiah conceived of God as One Who exercised His almighty power in controlling every event that took place on the earth.[3] Accordingly, God here made use of Assyria to judge Israel and Judah. Although Assyria was not aware of the purpose she was fulfilling for God, nevertheless she was an instrument, a "rod", in the hands of the Lord.[4] In this use of Assyria, "Yahweh is thought to care no more for Assyria than a father does for a switch with which he whips his boy; his love is centered in the boy,"[5] just as Yahweh's love is centered in His own people in Judah. Besides this God has just as much power over Assyria as a father has over the stick; this is the idea set forth in Isaiah's concept concerning God's power; for "against this spiritual power no nation can stand."[6] Then, after Assyria shall have fulfilled God's purpose, God would reckon with the Assyrian power;[7] for "Jehovah may use the scourge as an instrument in the working out of His plans, but when the instrument overreaches itself, and sets out with destruction in it's heart to bring all nations under it's sway, He will tear it asunder and cast it aside in dishonor."[8] God, therefore, is the King and Sovereign of the world, and as such He uses nations to perform His Will.[9] Thus even Assyria could not be her own master: God ruled.[10]

1. Isaiah 6:3.
2. Isaiah 10:12.
3. Cadman, PI, p. 48.
4. Mitchell, EOT, p. 142; Isa. 10:5.
5. Barton, RI, p. 102.
6. Addis, HREJ, p. 150.
7. Buttenweiser, PI, p. 285.
8. Gordon, FI, p. 106.
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3. Barton, PI, p. 102.
4. Isaiah 10:12.
5. Mitchell, EOT, p. 142; Isa. 10:2
6. Addis, SHEA, p. 180.
7. Buttenweiser, PI, p. 255.
8. Gordon, PI, p. 106.
9. Kiselen, PSOT, p. 204.
10. Smith, PI, pp. 171-172.

In prophetic utterance Isaiah declared that Assyria, a heathen nation, would serve the purpose of God to cause the Jews to turn to Him. Assyria, unwittingly, would perform this work, but because of her boastfulness she would be destroyed:[1.]

GOD'S JUDGMENT ON ASSYRIA

> "Ho Assyrian, the rod of mine anger, the staff in whose hand is mine indignation. I will send him against a profane nation, and against the people of my wrath will I give him a charge, to take the spoil, and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire of the streets. Howbeit he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so; but it is in his heart to destroy and to cut off nations not a few...Wherefore it shall come to pass, that when the Lord shall have performed his whole work upon mount Zion and on Jerusalem, I will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks...And the light of Israel shall be for a fire, and his Holy One for a flame: and it shall burn and devour his thorns and his briers in one day; And shall consume the glory of his forest, and of his fruitful field, both soul and body: and they shall be as when a standardbearer fainteth. And the remnant of the trees of his forest shall be few, that a child may write them."

Here we have a record of how a boastful nation performs the divine purpose without knowing it was the purpose of God, but because of it's "boast of heraldry and pomp of power, the path of (it's) glory leads but to the grave."[2.] Only a fragment was to be left of this great world power.

There is also another prophecy in which Isaiah speaks of the purpose of God. In this prophecy "the purpose is purposed upon the whole earth."[3.]

GOD'S PURPOSE

This purpose, claims the prophet, cannot be disannuled;

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1. Isaiah 10: 5-7,12, 16-19. 2. Gray, "Elegy."
3. Isaiah 14:26.

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1. Isaiah 10:5-7,12, 16-19, 24, 25, 33, 34.
2. Isaiah 14:28.

for it is purposed by the Lord of hosts:[1]

> "The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely as I have thought, so shall it come to pass: and as I have purposed, so shall it stand: That I will break the Assyrian in my land, and upon my mountains tread him under foot: then shall his yoke depart from off them, and his burden shall depart from off their shoulder. This is the purpose that is purposed upon the whole earth: and this is the hand that is stretched out upon all nations.For the Lord of hosts hath purposed, and who shall disannul it? and his hand is stretched out, and who shall turn it back?"

It was,therefore, a profound thought and concept of Isaiah that God was able to carry out His purposes on all nations, and that there was none that could stay the hand of God.

Moreover this omnipotent power of God was used against Assyria and other foreign nations, but Isaiah

GOD'S PURPOSE FOR ZION believed that God used this same omnipotent power in behalf of the Judeans. When the Assyrians advanced they were permitted to come so far, but they could not enter Jerusalem, the sacred city. In a number of prophetic utterances Isaiah puts Assyria under the rebuke of God. He says:"The nations shall rush like the rushing of many waters, but God shall rebuke them;"[2] he rebukes both Egypt and Assyria, and defends Zion:[3]

> "The Egyptians are men and not God;...When the Lord shall stretch out his hand,...they shall all fail... (and) When the lion growleth...over his prey, if a multitude of shepherds be called forth against him, he will not be afraid...so shall the Lord of hosts come down to fight upon mount Zion, and upon the hill thereof."

It is God's purpose to save Zion from all it's foes.

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1. Isaiah 4:24-27. 2. Isaiah 17:13a.
3. Isaiah 31: 3a,c,4b,c,e.

SECTION FIVE: THE INVIOLABILITY OF JERUSALEM.

INTRODUCTORY

Isaiah's concept concerning the inviolability of Jerusalem had it's origin in the belief that Zion, or Jerusalem, was the seat of Jehovah's sovereignity and the center of the future kingdom of God. But Isaiah had not believed this doctrine during the earliest years of his prophecy. There was a time when he declared that Jerusalem would be destroyed, and the people would be taken captive:[1]

> "Therefore my people are gone into captivity, for the lack of knowledge: and their honourable men are famished, and their multitude are parched with thirst. Therefore hell hath enlarged herself, and opened her mouth without measure: and their glory, and their multitude, and their pomp, and he that rejoiceth among them, descend into it...Then shall the lambs feed as in their pasture, and the waste places of the fat ones shall wanderers eat."

At the time of his call,also, Isaiah is told by the Lord that he is to give a message of judgment and desolation:[2]

> "Then said I, Lord, how long? And he answered, Until cities be waste without inhabitant, and houses without man, and the land become utterly waste, And the Lord have removed men far away, and the forsaken places be many in the midst of the land."

These passages which come out of the early years of his ministry, or relate to those formative years of prophecy, show that at that period of Isaiah's ministry the concept of the inviolability of Jerusalem had not yet dawned upon him; at least these passages do not admit of it. It remained for the events of later years to develop the

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1. Isaiah 5:13,14,17. 2. Isaiah 6:11,12.

concept.

There are, however, in the first four chapters of the book of Isaiah, three passages which suggest the belief that Isaiah's thoughts were early directed toward the ideals which in later years were incorporated in the doctrine of the inviolability of Jerusalem. In two of these passages, however, a note of judgment and super-imposed prerequisites are stipulated; for Jerusalem must first be purged and cleansed:[1]

EARLY PASSAGES IN ISAIAH: SUGGESTIVE

> "And I will turn my hand upon thee, and thoroughly purge away thy dross, and will take away all thy tin: and I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning: afterward thou shalt be called, The city of righteousness, the faithful city."

In this city of righteousness there shall be a tabernacle of refuge:[2]

> "When the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion, and shall have purged the blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof by the spirit of judgment and the spirit of burning...there shall be a tabernacle for a shadow in the daytime from the heat, and for a refuge, and for a covert from storm and from rain."

In the third passage, Isaiah, the young idealist, pictures Jerusalem as the religious capital of a warless world. This picture represents Jerusalem as the one city that shall continue to exist for the good of all the earth:[3]

> "And it shall come to pass in the latter days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it. And many peoples shall go and say, Come ye,

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3. Isaiah 2:2-4.

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> and let us go up to the house of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge between the nations, and shall arbitrate for many people: and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Even though this passage does not directly say that God would protect the city of Jerusalem to save it, yet the thought portrayed concerning the important role that the city is to play in the world of events definitely points in the direction of the doctrine of inviolability. Here, then, we can discern the first emergence of the concept.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE CONCEPT

Nevertheless the doctrine did not take a recognizable form until the time of Ahaz; but even at this time we find only allusions to it, or rather references to the idea that God dwelt in Jerusalem, in the temple: an idea from which emerged the concept of the inviolability of Jerusalem. Isaiah had experienced this Presence in the Temple; the potency of this experience had impressed upon Isaiah the sublime idea that God was in the midst of the holy city. The days of warfare and threatened disaster, therefore, were influential factors in developing this idea into the concept that God would protect Jerusalem. Thus in the time of Ahaz, when Assyria began to rule over Judah, Isaiah said that the "people had refused the waters of Shiloah that go softly."[1] This was an allusion to the belief that

1. Isaiah 8:6.

the people had forsaken God who dwelt in Jerusalem, and had put their trust in Assyria. Likewise when he saw that Ahaz, the king, had rejected his counsel to confide in God, and had sought the help of Assyria at the cost of Judah, Isaiah said of himself and his disciples:"I will wait for the Lord...which dwelleth in mount Zion."[1]

From this time on, the concept becomes more highly developed; and presents are to be brought to the

ZION: THE CITY OF JEHOVAH

Jehovah who dwelleth in Jerusalem; for the Lord shall establish Zion, and the people shall dwell there: even the poor of the people shall trust in it. The presents are to be brought from the scattered peoples and from Egypt:[2]

> "In that time shall a present be brought unto the Lord of hosts of a people tall and smooth, and from a people terrible from their beginning onward; a nation that meteth out and treadeth down, whose land the rivers divide, to the place of the name of the Lord of hosts, the mount Zion."

Because He desires to be present in Zion:[3]

> "Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold I lay in Zion for a foundation stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone, of sure foundation."

Then,after God shall have established Zion, "the people shall dwell in Zion at Jerusalem."[4] But more especially "shall the poor of the people"find their trust there, for: "the Lord hath founded Zion, and in her shall the afflicted of his people take refuge;"[5] ("The poor of his people shall trust in it.")[6] Zion was, therefore, the city of God.

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1. Isaiah 8:17a,18b.
2. Isaiah 18:7.
3. Isaiah 28:16.
4. Isaiah 30:19.
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6. Isaiah 14:32.(King James. Ver.)

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THE REASON ZION IS PROTECTED

When Zion shall have been purged of her sin, she shall become the city of righteousness: the city of God. But God, Who is a devouring fire, shall go through the midst of the city and purge it. The sinner shall fear, and he shall not be able to dwell with the devouring fire.[1] There is no indication in Isaiah that the religion of Yahweh and it's external expression,which the Temple gives, are separable. The Temple must exist as an external dwelling place for Yahweh. This external and visible presence of the Temple, in Isaiah's thought, is necessary for the faith of the people. Therefore Jerusalem could not be destroyed; it would, rather, be purged. All falsehood would be swept from Zion, but faith and truth would survive: for the Lord should be exalted in Zion, the city of solemnities. The tabernacle would not be taken down: God, Who is in it's midst, would protect it:[2]

> "The Lord is exalted; for he dwelleth on high: he hath filled Zion with judgment and righteousness... Look upon Zion, the city of our solemnities: thine eyes shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation, a tabernacle that shall not be removed; not one of the stakes thereof shall ever be removed, neither shall any of the cords thereof be broken. But there the Lord will be with us in majesty, a place of broad rivers and streams; wherein shall go no galley with oars, neither shall gallant ship pass thereby. For the Lord is our judge, the Lord is our lawgiver, the Lord is our king; he will save us."

Isaiah believed that if Jerusalem were destroyed that God's purpose would also be destroyed. He said in effect:[3] "There

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1. Isaiah 33:14. 2. Isaiah 33:5,20-22.
3. Leslie, "Prophets."(Class notes.)

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are in Jerusalem values that are absolutely under God and therefore they can not be destroyed by any human force. The state was to exist to perpetuate these values."[1] Therefore God would protect Jerusalem because it was the embodiment of the eternal ideals.

It was during the crisis of 701 B.C. that this concept of the inviolability of Jerusalem was developed in it's highest form. This was the time of the invasion of Sennacherib and the siege of Jerusalem. Sennacherib invaded Judah, but he was not able to take Jerusalem. Nevertheless, in the crucial events of that period of invasion and siege, it took a strong faith to combat the problems that arose. In this ardent struggle, Isaiah became greatly convinced that Jerusalem was inviolable, and he dared to stake his prophecy and faith upon God's power and willingness to save the city. Therefore when he heard that Sennacherib had threatened Hezekiah and Jerusalem, Isaiah spoke to the messengers of the king of Judah and said:[2]

> "Thus shall ye say to your master, Thus saith the Lord, Be not afraid of the words that thou hast heard, wherewith the servants of the king of Assyria have blasphemed me. Behold, I will put a spirit in him, and he shall hear a rumour, and shall return to his own land; and I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own land."

Again, when Sennacherib sent a letter to Hezekiah and demanded that Hezekiah should immediately surrender

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1. Leslie, "Prophets."(Class notes).
2. 2 Kings 19: 6-7.

are in Jerusalem values that are absolutely under God and therefore they can not be destroyed by any human force. The state was to exist to perpetuate these values.[1] Therefore God would protect Jerusalem because it was the embodiment of the eternal ideals.

It was during the crisis of 701 B.C. that this concept of the inviolability of Jerusalem was developed THE CONCEPT IN ITS in its highest form. This was the HIGHEST DEVELOPMENT time of the invasion of Sennacherib and the siege of Jerusalem. Sennacherib invaded Judah, but he was not able to take Jerusalem. Nevertheless, in the crucial events of that period of invasion and siege, it took a strong faith to combat the problems that arose. In this radiant struggle, Isaiah became greatly convinced that Jerusalem was inviolable, and he dared to state his prophecy and faith upon God's power and willingness to save the city. Therefore when he heard that Sennacherib had threatened Hezekiah and Jerusalem, Isaiah spoke to the messengers of the King of Judah[2] and said:

> "Thus shall ye say to your master, Thus saith the Lord, Be not afraid of the words that thou hast heard, wherewith the servants of the king of Assyria have blasphemed me. Behold, I will put a spirit in him, and he shall hear a rumour, and shall return to his own land; and I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own land."

Again, when Sennacherib sent a letter to Hezekiah and demanded that Hezekiah should immediately surrender

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1. Isaiah, "Prophets." (Class Notes).
2. 2 Kings 19: 6-7.

himself and Jerusalem, Isaiah sent a message to Hezekiah:[1]

> "This is the word that the Lord hath spoken concerning him; the virgin daughter of Zion hath despised thee, and laughed thee to scorn; the daughter of Jerusalem hath shaken her head at thee."

Therefore Jerusalem was not to yield to Sennacherib; God was it's defender. Sennacherib could only come within a certain distance of Jerusalem; there he would be stopped:[2]

> "This very day shall he halt at Nob: he shaketh his hand at the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem."

But in Isaiah's thought God not only keeps away disaster; He also defends, delivers, and preserves Jerusalem:[3]

> "As birds flying, so will the Lord of hosts protect Jerusalem; he will protect and deliver it, he will pass over and preserve it."

The highest development which this concept acquired in the lifetime of Isaiah is seen in the word that Isaiah sent to the king Hezekiah when Sennacherib was attempting to capture Jerusalem. At this instance Isaiah emphatically said that Jerusalem was the inviolable city and could not be taken:[4]

> "Therefore thus saith the Lord concerning the king of Assyria, He shall not come unto this city, nor shoot an arrow there, neither shall he come before it with shield, nor cast a mount against it. By the way that he came, by the same shall he return, and he shall not come unto this city, saith the lord. For I will defend this city, to save it, for mine own sake, and for my servant David's sake."

When Isaiah uttered these words, he announced in not uncertain terms the inviolability of Jerusalem; and when the deliverance took place as he said it would, it was verified.

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1. 2 Kings 19:21.
2. 2 Kings 10:32.
3. Isaiah 31:5.
4. 2 Kings 19:32-34. Isaiah 37: 32-35.

It is difficult to state the exact thought of Isaiah on this doctrine. Some have interpreted it to mean

SUMMARY

that Isaiah thought Jerusalem would be kept from harm no matter how it's inhabitants lived. This, however, is the unfortunate way in which the Jews of later years excused their folly by appealing to Isaiah's doctrine of the infallible Jerusalem. It was a perverse application of a doctrine which had at the center of it's conception the ideal of the truth of God. In the passages of scripture quoted above, it should naturally follow that Isaiah did not claim that Jerusalem would be saved even when it had become utterly evil; he claimed that a reformation had to take place, and that it would take place because God, as a consuming fire, was in the midst of Jerusalem. From this belief, the doctrine took it's form; it should not be considered apart from the ideals which surrounded it's origin. Isaiah believed that a reformation would take place in which a remnant, cleansed and purged, would make Jerusalem inviolable because of the very character of it's citizens as well as the presence of Yahweh. When therefore the testing time came and Jerusalem was saved before it was cleansed, it does not follow that because Jerusalem was saved that there were no sinners in it. This great deliverance had come, but it had come to prepare the people for God's purpose.

CHAPTER V: SUMMARY OF THE THESIS: THE INFLUENCE OF THE ASSYRIAN AND EGYPTIAN FORCES OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY B.C. ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS OF ISAIAH.

We have endeavored to show in this thesis how the Assyrian and Egyptian forces of the eighth century B.C. were factors in the development of the religious concepts of Isaiah: in particular his five main concepts, namely: The Remnant, Faith and Loyalty, The Messiah, The Omnipotence of Yahweh, and The Inviolability of Jerusalem. In many respects Assyria was the aggressive or positive factor, while Egypt was more of a negative factor in this developmental process. These were the years in which the nation of Assyria had formed the first world empire in history. Because of the rise of this new power, Egypt whose glory lay in the past did all she could to cause the other states to revolt against Assyria to weaken her power. In the meantime Judah became a"buffer state" for both Egypt and Assyria. It was Judah then that received the jolts and jars which should had been given to Egypt and Assyria respectively. Moreover the period was one of political and international crises of immense importance. It's events affected both the political and the religious status of Israel and Judah for years to come. But the impact of all these events and forces were especially felt and centered in Jerusalem, the capital city; -the central shrine of Judah.

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In Jerusalem at this time there lived a man of great prophetic insight and ingenuity. His name was Isaiah, the son of Amoz. Isaiah was both a prophet and statesman who was well aware of the international affairs as well as in tune with God. Therefore it can readily be supposed that his religious concepts would be affected by the political events in the international affairs. But these not only affected his religious concepts; they helped to develop them.

The archaeological data of this period largely confirm the Biblical records. The Records of Egypt, in the Piankhi Stela, show that Egypt was weak and inefficient due to the large number of small dynasts who, as separate individuals, ruled over a city or small section of the land. The annals of Tiglathpileser, the inscriptions of Sargon, and the inscriptions of Sennacherib, describe a number of incidents which are likewise recorded in the book of Kings. These independent records and inscriptions, therefore, are a source of verification of the book of Kings and shed much light upon the events of this age; the age in which Isaiah lived and prophesied. These inscriptions also supplement the Biblical data in many instances.

In the age of Isaiah Judah had become a battlefield for two great nations of antiquity: Assyria and Egypt. Like an iron under the hammer and on the anvil,

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In the age of Isaiah Judah had become a battle-field for two great nations of antiquity: Assyria and Egypt. Like an iron under the hammer and on the anvil,

Judah lay between these two forces. Assyria burned with the youthful fires of enterprize and conquest; while Egypt continued to exist on the reputation of it's past glories; It maintained some of it's control over Palestine only because of it's past glory. Shortly after 945 B.C. Egypt had asserted her former rights over Palestine when SheshonKI made Solomon his vassal. In the description of Piankhi's campaigns in Egypt, however, we are brought face to face with the internal decadence of Egypt at the close of the eighth century B.C. This helps more clearly to recognize that Isaiah was right about his view concerning Egypt in the practical aspect as well as in his religious ideals. The people of Judah feared Pharaoh, but Isaiah prophesied against him. When Shabaka became the Pharaoh of Egypt near the close of the eighth century B.C., Hoshea, the king of the Northern Kingdom of Israel, bribed him to procure his assistance against the Assyrian monarch. The Assyrian, therefore, came down upon Hoshea and imprisoned him; the Egyptian had only proved to be a bruising reed. Egypt's glory lay in the past, but that past glory was a snare to the Palestinian states.

Isaiah saw four kings come in to power during the Assyrian suzerainty over Judah. These kings were : Tiglathpileser III, Shalmaneser V, Sargon II, and Sennacherib. Tiglathpileser had founded the first world empire,

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and he had made two campaigns into Palestine: the one in 738 B.C., and the second in 734 B.C. at the time that Ahaz called him to fight against the Syro-Ephraimitish coalition. Judah was then brought under the domination of Assyria against the will of Isaiah. In 725 B.C., Shalmaneser V, the next Assyrian king, came into the land of Palestine because the states had failed to pay tribute to Assyria. He overran the entire country, except Judah, and made terms of peace. Then he laid siege to Samaria where Hoshea had fled for refuge. Before the city surrendered, Shalmaneser died and Sargon II seized the throne of Assyria. He struck the fatal blow against Samaria which fell in 722 B.C., and this brought the Northern Kingdom to an end. Again in 711 B.C. the states of Palestine revolted. This time Hezekiah, king of Judah, was implicated in the insurrection. Sargon himself was ready for this move. He struck before the enemy had time to combine forces. He invaded the land of Palestine and captured Ashdod, and Judah subjected herself to Sargon. A few years later he died, and Sennacherib, his son, was made king over Assyria. This was the signal for a revolt in Palestine. For three years after his ascension to the throne in 705 B.C. Sennacherib did not move against the revolting states. But in 701 B.C. the Assyrian army swept westward and subdued all the land as it marched along.

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Sennacherib also took a number of cities from Judah. Just before he reached Jerusalem, Sennacherib heard that the Egyptian army was approaching. Without waiting for further developments he went to meet the Egyptians. He won a decisive battle over Taharkah and the Egyptian army which Shabaka, the Pharaoh of Egypt, had sent out to help the inhabitants of Palestine. Afterwards Sennacherib turned his attention toward Jerusalem. From Lachish he appeared before Jerusalem with a great force. Hezekiah, in frenzy, sent tribute and a present to the Assyrian, but Sennacherib was not satisfied. He declared that he would not be satisfied with less than the surrender and sacking of Jerusalem. In the meantime Isaiah came upon the scene and strengthened Hezekiah. Isaiah said that Jerusalem would be delivered out of the hand of the Assyrian. The prediction was not long in fulfillment. That night Sennacherib was defeated. There was a great deliverance, and Jerusalem was saved. For more than a hundred years after this Jerusalem continued to enjoy it's independence. This prepared the Jews to live in unity, so that even the exile could not destroy the national bond that was binding them together.

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In the preceding discussion we find the historical data concerning the events which made Assyria and Egypt factors in the development of the religious complex of Israel. We shall summarize the development of

each of these five concepts above mentioned, and point out the way in which Egypt and Assyria were Factors which influenced their development.

The first is the Concept of the Remnant. In the first part of his ministry, Isaiah believed that Israel as a nation would be the remnant of the people of the whole earth. This remnant was to be the means of perpetuating the teaching of the knowledge of the Lord. Then came a crucial moment in the nation's history when Ahaz, the king of Judah, betrayed his nation into the hands of the king of Assyria. From that time on, Isaiah gave his teachings and entrusted them to his group of disciples who then embodied his concept of the remnant. It remained for later years to permit the concept of the remnant to develop into it's most ethical and glorious manifestation: a spiritual community and kingdom crowned by the glory and beauty of God.

Faith and loyalty is the name we give to the second of the great religious concepts of Isaiah. The development of this concept is seen in three memorable passages of scripture: Isaiah 7:9; 28:16; and 30:15. From his vision in the Temple to the victory over Assyria, the faith of Isaiah never lost it's force and vitality. Isaiah heard of the plan of Ahaz to give tribute to Assyria and procure the services of Tiglathpileser against

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the two northern kingdoms which threatened to dethrone Ahaz. Therefore the prophet went forth to meet the king of Judah, and to tell him the word of the Lord. He told Ahaz to put his trust in Jehovah: for there need be no fear. But, he said,"If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established."[1] Ahaz would not obey the summons, and the kingdom of Judah became a tributary state to Assyria. On the other hand, Isaiah sealed up his doctrines and teachings among his disciples. He did not appear again in political circles until during the reign of Hezekiah. Then when Merodach-baladan came to Hezekiah to get the Judean monarch to enter into an alliance against Assyria, Isaiah came to Hezekiah with his word of denunciation. He also told the Judean king that God alone was reliable: that he was to be careful about any alliance with foreign nations. He was to believe in God; and "he that believeth shall not make haste."[2] Some years passed between this incident and the more crucial period when Isaiah gave his finest statement concerning his faith. The king and people had forsaken Jehovah, and were putting their trust in Egypt. This occurred in it's most radical form just before the invasion of Sennacherib. At that time Judah placed her confidence in Egypt, and formed an alliance with Egypt and the Palestinian states against Assyria. Isaiah showed them their folly of trust-

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ing in Egypt. He said moreover unto them, "Thus said the Lord God, the Holy One of Israel; In returning and rest shall ye be saved; in quietness and confidence shall be your strength: and ye would not."[1] It was the faith of Isaiah in the Holy One of Israel that kept him steady in the midst of all these difficult and trying situations. But he wanted all of Israel to experience this same confidence and strength. This the king and people did not experience until after they saw that this faith had enabled Isaiah to stand fast steady and loyal to God even when all the state opposed him. Then through his steadfastness and the fulfillment of his prophecy concerning Sennacherib, the king and people believed. They saw in Isaiah the embodiment of his concept of faith:"In returning and rest shall ye be saved; in quietness and confidence shall be your strength."[1]

Isaiah's Messianic concept shows a steady development, although there are those who believe that in it's third stage of development it is seen in it's greatest perfection; namely, in the prophecy concerning the Messiah and his Kingdom of Peace. We begin in our development of this concept with the young idealist. As a young idealist, when Assyria under Tiglathpileser III was being formed into the first world empire, Isaiah Prophesied that there would come a time when Jerusalem

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would be the world's religious capital, at which time the world would become a warless world. This concept gained a new element at the time of the Syro-Ephraimitish war when Ahaz, king of Judah, betrayed his nation into the hands of Assyria. Isaiah then prophesied to Ahaz that in due season Immanuel would be born to rule over the remnant of the people of Israel and Judah. Immanuel, unlike Ahaz, would carry out and perform the purposes of God for His people; for he would be a true king as contrasted with Ahaz. The inability of Ahaz, and the rise of the power of Assyria, suggested another means of the way in which Isaiah's concept developed. In the midst of confusion and the inability of Ahaz, Isaiah's concept developed to include the idea of an ideal Counsellor and Prince of Peace Who would reign by means of the zeal of Jehovah. After a few more years had passed Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, became king, and the obedient nation of Judah began to thrive in spite of the domination of Assyria. It was at this interval that Isaiah gave his prophecy concerning the Messiah and the Kingdom of Peace. This concept had therefore developed to include the belief in the transformation of all nature. Then in the later period of his life, when Judah had again become independent, Isaiah's Messianic prophecy and concept recognized the Messiah as protector who, with an aristocracy of character, ruled an ideal Commonwealth for God.

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The concept of the Omnipotence of Yahweh gave a motivating force to all of Isaiah's work. He believed that in God was the hope of the future of the world, for it was God Whose Spiritual power immeasurably surpassed any human power. To Isaiah, God was Majestic, Holy, and therefore Omnipotent.Because God was Omnipotent, He could and did intervene in the affairs of the world to order the events of history. He used Assyria as His "rod" to chastize His own people. Assyria and Egypt existed to purge and cleanse Israel and Judah. After God's purpose had been fulfilled, the instrumental nations would be punished and come to know the Lord as the Ruler of all the earth. Even the mighty Assyria could not become her own master; God ruled. God would carry out His purposes on all nations, and none should stay His hand. But in all His dealings, God was most especially interested in the welfare of Jerusalem and in the perpetuation of Zion.

The concept of the Inviolability of Jerusalem, moreover, was conceived in the midst of the destruction which Assyria and Egypt planned for Jerusalem. It is difficult to state the exact thought of Isaiah on this doctrine. Some have interpreted it to mean that Isaiah thought Jerusalem would be kept from harm in spite of the way in which it's inhabitants lived. This, however, is

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the unfortunate way in which the Jews of later centuries excused their folly; for they appealed to this doctrine of Isaiah. It was a perverse application of a concept which had at the center of it's inception the ideal of the truth of God. Isaiah had said that if they wished to be kept safely they had to return unto God. Isaiah did not claim that Jerusalem would be saved even though it were evil; he said that a reformation had to take place, and that it would take place because God, as a consuming fire, was in the midst of Jerusalem. This must be considered in it's exposition and explanation. Isaiah believed that a reformation would take place,in which a remnant, cleansed and purified, would make Jerusalem inviolable because of the very character of it's inhabitants, as well as the presence of Yahweh in the city. When Jerusalem was saved at the time of Sennacherib's invasion, even before it had been cleansed, this does not mean that there were no sinners in the city. This great deliverance had come; but it had come to prepare the people for God's purpose. The sifting process would take place in God's own time.

Thus we see that Assyria and Egypt were mighty factors in the development of the religious concepts of Isaiah: for the events in the world crises,which they set in his pathway, caused him to rely on God.

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Thus we see that Assyria and Egypt were mighty factors in the development of the religious concepts of Isaiah; for the events in the world around, which they set in his pathway, caused him to rely on God.

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B-I-B-L-I-O-G-R-A-P-H-Y.

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